

A VISIT TO THE TAIPINGS IN 1854.

THE writer, being in China in 1854, had an opportunity of visiting Nanking, then in possession of the rebel Taipings. On May 25 the mail arrived from England, bringing news that war had been declared against Russia, whereupon the Admiral immediately sailed from Hong Kong in the 'Winchester,' in pursuit of the Russian Admiral, Pútiatin, who, with his fleet, was supposed to be in the neighbourhood of Japan. The writer was offered a passage as far as the mouth of the Yang-tsze-Kiang, where he left the flag-ship, and proceeded in the 'Styx' to Shanghai, which he reached on June 8.

The rebellion in China had for some time been spreading, and, in addition to the powerful party of Tai-ping-wáng, many bands of marauders, chiefly from the Canton and Fokien provinces, were actively engaged in plundering the country. One of these gangs had, in September 1853, suddenly seized on the town of Shanghai, and, at the time of the writer's arrival, was still in possession, though besieged by the imperialists, each party firing at the other, without doing much damage. In consequence of this state of siege, all the houses in the

suburbs had been destroyed by the imperialists in order to enable them to breach the city wall. Only one gate of the town was open, and even that was kept barred, with a strong guard over it. The rebels were on good terms with the Europeans of the Settlement, who were admitted into the city without scruple ; but no egress was allowed to the citizens, all the marketing to supply the necessities of life being effected by letting down baskets over the walls. The city was a scene of great misery and desolation, almost all the houses being closed, while the few people whom one saw standing about the streets spoke with bated breath, and in evident terror of their masters. The rebels had compelled the citizens not to shave their heads, according to ordinary Chinese custom, and their unshorn polls had a most conical appearance. The walls were manned by the insurgents, each embrasure having a sentry, with a good stock of small guns, jingals, and ammunition close by. The rebels, who seemed to be terrible ragamuffins, to distinguish themselves from the inhabitants, mostly wore a red rag on their heads, or had some other article of dress of that color. All the temples in the town were closed. Great atrocities were said to be committed by the rebels, the chief of whom had been a horse-boy in the service of some English gentleman, and it was currently reported that many unoffending people had been beheaded, while others had been tortured, by being forced to sit upon heated stones, in order to extort money from them. Strangely enough, some of the missionaries had conceived an idea that the rebels were a promising field for Christian labor, while, in a few instances, low adven-

turers among the Europeans had sold them guns and powder without scruple.

The perpetual popping which went on between rebel and imperialist did not greatly interfere with the tranquillity of the European settlement, although in passing up the river between the city and the imperial encampment, some risk was run from the guns of either side.

The position of the insurgents under Tai-ping-wáng having at this time attracted great attention, both in China and in England, the Governor determined to send an expedition to Nanking, in order to obtain a more intimate knowledge of their condition and resources, and to form a conclusion as to their chances of ultimate success. Accordingly H.M.'s steamers 'Rattler' and 'Styx' were despatched to Nanking, and the writer joined the expedition. We left Shanghai on June 15, and after sundry mishaps during two days at the mouth of the mighty Yang-tsze-Kiang, in which the 'Rattler' got aground twice, and the 'Styx' lost an anchor and cable, we managed to clear the bar of the river, and anchored off Keashán. On the 18th we passed by the district town of Kiangyin, a place prettily situated in a bight of the river, with a fine pagoda in the distance, and a yellow temple on the bank of the stream, and proceeding onwards by the Keuen Shán pagoda, made our way up to Silver Island, a richly-wooded hill, adorned at its base with white temples, from which probably the island took its name. Two miles beyond this is the celebrated fortress of Chinkiangfú, which our troops took in the first China war, and which gave

a title subsequently to Lord Gough, who commanded our army. On arriving opposite this stronghold, which commands the entrance of the Grand Canal, and was occupied by the insurgents, a shot was fired from the battery at its foot, which passed just under the bows of the 'Rattler.' Being thus brought to, we anchored for the night, and the next morning pulled ashore in a boat to demand an apology for the insult.

On our landing at the place whence the gun was fired, we received a note requesting us, if we wished to go on shore, to proceed up the stream to the regular landing-place at a jetty some way off. This we accordingly did, and on landing went to the house of the General, or Deputy-Governor, Kang, a young man, who at first seemed disposed to be uncivil, but yielding to persuasion or remonstrance, was at length very polite. As we sat and talked, the room became crowded by a mob of ragamuffins, who came to stare at us, and examined us and our dress very closely. They wore their hair, not in pig-tail fashion, like orthodox Chinamen, but twisted round their heads, and their polls being unshorn, the hair stood out in coarse bristles all over their heads in the most ludicrous way. Most of them wore moustaches and scanty beards. A few, who were apparently in office, wore yellow rags on their heads, drooping behind, like a lazzaroni's cap, while the General himself donned a peculiar head-dress of red cloth, inlaid with embroidery, with a sharp peak in front, a lion on the top, and a pendent tassel behind.

Having expressed a wish to see the Commandant of the fort, Wú-Jú-Kiaou, the General went to consult

him, and returned, saying that his superior had consented to see us, whereupon we mounted our ponies, and, passing through a double gateway, entered the inner city where the Commandant resided. The town appeared to have been thoroughly pillaged, the houses having been gutted, and abandoned on all sides. Having arrived at the Commandant's abode, we were kept waiting for a short time, after which a crash of gongs was heard, and, an inner door being thrown open, we were admitted to the presence. The Commandant was seated behind a long table, and, without rising, motioned to us to be seated. He was dressed in a rich satin coat of a purple color, covered with gold, and wore the same kind of strange hat as our friend the General, though more richly decorated. He was a young man of about thirty, and, though at first extremely supercilious, soon became courteous. On our representing the insult that had been offered to the Britannic flag, the Commandant observed that he had no means of recognising foreign vessels, and had found it necessary to prevent ships from proceeding up the river, as the impish imperialists did not scruple to hoist the ensign of the English or any other nation. He promised, however, to write an apology, offered us assistance in procuring coal, and agreed to send some one with us to Nanking. Before we left, he politely gave us something to eat in the shape of several small, but not bad, dishes of duck, fowl, vegetables, and rice, which we had to discuss, however, with chopsticks, those curious inventions which remind the novice of the entertainment given by the fox to the stork in the

fable. The Commandant also favoured us with copies of several of the insurgents' publications, among which were a translation of Leviticus; an account of the Establishment of the Celestial Dynasty at Nanking; a treatise on Land Tenures; an exhortation to exterminate the Tartars, &c. : all these books bearing a broad red official stamp in token of their genuine character. As we rode back, we saw some heaps of coal, and were told that plenty more was procurable. The town seemed large, but was very desolate, trade having ceased, and the population having been reduced to one-tenth of its original numbers, a sign that the rebels had not enlisted the sympathies of the people. We were told that there were 3,000 women in the city, but we did not see any, for it had been ordered that they should be kept separate from the men, on the ground that, while the place was in a state of siege, and the country generally unsettled, it was unadvisable to allow them to interfere with military operations. Proclamations to this effect were posted up all about the walls, together with others prohibiting the drinking of all intoxicating liquors, exhortations to citizens to return to their homes, advertisements for doctors, &c.

At a distance of about two miles, the imperialists were encamped with the object of recovering the city from the hands of the rebels, but they were too far off to breach the walls, and were afraid to come to close quarters. The fortifications appeared to be very strong, and were well guarded by large bodies of men, amply furnished with guns and ammunition, while the walls were surmounted by *cheveux-de-frise*. A canal also

runs underneath the rock outside. The natural strength of the place is great, and as it commands both the river and the Grand Canal, its possession by an enterprising enemy would materially affect the trade of that part of the country.

After our return to the 'Rattler' we were favoured with a visit from the General, who was accompanied by one of his brigadiers and a colonel, if one may so dignify the respectable fraternity, and the three stayed to dinner, which they enjoyed greatly, forgetting the celestial denunciations regarding strong drinks. As we were far away from the batteries, and in the proximity of a besieging imperialist fleet, their visit to us betokened much confidence in our brotherly feeling, and some contempt for their foes. The General departed, highly delighted at having extorted a telescope and an umbrella from the Captain, and promising to present him in return a specimen of their peculiar head-dress, which however he forgot to do. The next day, the Colonel, who had been deputed to accompany us to Nanking, came off, and we steamed up the river, passing by Golden Island, a prettily wooded retreat, with a small pagoda and other buildings on it. Beyond this is Kwáchau, formerly a thriving town, which we found in a miserable state of ruin, and the desolate appearance of this and other places gave us an unfavourable idea of the conciliatory policy of the Taiping rebels.

On nearing Nanking, we had a good view of the place, which was surrounded by a strong wall, the Porcelain Pagoda standing out conspicuously in the distance. The inner city, being no less than four

miles from the river bank, could not be clearly discerned, while the frontage of the suburbs was very mean, giving no idea of the proximity of a large capital. The approaches to the suburbs were all stockaded, large stakes having been driven into the ground cross-wise, and, between them, innumerable pieces of bamboo with sharp projecting points, so that no troops could possibly advance over them in line. Several batteries commanded the river, and high look-out towers had been erected to survey the surrounding country and watch the arrival of enemies.

We sent a boat on shore with our friend the Colonel, who, on landing, was immediately mobbed by numbers of the rebels anxious to know our errand. The next day, June 21, we moved across the stream, and anchored close to the suburb, and after waiting some time fruitlessly for the Colonel's return, took a ship's boat and went on shore. After vainly attempting to pass through the wickets of the stockade, we pulled a little way up the creek, and landed where there was a ferry. Close by, a triangular flag of yellow denoted the quarters of the Taiping General in command of the outpost, which was outside the north-east wall of the city towards the Ifung Gate. We entered his house, and found him seated with two other officials, all three wearing the peculiar head-dress which we had seen at Chinkiangfú. Our reception was by no means civil, as they did not even rise to welcome us, a courtesy which Chinese politeness always dictates. On our seating ourselves, they enquired our object in coming to Nanking, and being informed that the British Go-

vernment wished to cultivate friendly relations with them, and to receive information as to their power and resources, they told us to *petition* the Eastern King, whose name and titles were furnished in the following curious address :—‘The Comforter—the Holy Ghost—the Honai Teacher—the Eastern King—Yang, Commander-in-Chief of the Celestial Forces.’

We promised to write to the Taiping Chief, to announce to this mighty potentate our arrival, and, having sipped some tea, took our leave. The Colonel never returned, and we shortly ascertained that the people had been forbidden to communicate with us, either on board the steamer or on shore, from which we concluded that something had gone wrong.

On examining one of the revelations which were presented to us at Chinkiangfú, we found out the origin of the blasphemous epithet applied to the Eastern King. The treatise stated that Yang, having given some excellent advice to Tai-ping-wáng, the leader of the insurgents, the latter, being well pleased with his devotion, said,—‘Our elder brother, Jesus, in leaving this world, promised to send after him a Comforter. You are this Comforter, and I give you henceforward the title of the Holy Ghost.’ In the same revelation, it was alleged that the Heavenly Father came down from heaven, and ordered that Tai-ping-wáng should receive forty strokes with a bamboo as a punishment for his misconduct in ill-treating various people, and his wives in particular, but Yang interceded for him, and he was let off with a severe reprimand.

On the 22nd, we passed through a part of the suburb, but were stopped at a wicket gate on our way to the city wall, and no persuasions would induce the rebels to admit us inside, so we entered the residence of a chief outside, who was very civil, but pleaded his positive instructions not to allow us to proceed beyond the gate. This man informed us that the 'second coming' had taken place the previous year at Nanking, and, in confirmation of the popular belief, we saw many people, when about to sit down to dinner, repeating, at their grace, a prayer 'in the name of God the Father, Jesus Christ the Son, and the Eastern King the Holy Ghost.' Some said this kneeling, others standing.

A great many junks were lying in the creek, full of fighting men, who, to the number of 10,000, were starting off on an expedition, in consequence of some news which they had received from the north, though of what nature they would not say. All the boats had flags, chiefly triangular, and the soldiers wore a uniform of red and yellow, with the common fighting cap, each man having the number of his regiment stamped on his coat, or a piece of wood suspended in front. Their arms were rude and inferior, consisting mainly of long spears, short swords, and halberds, but muskets or fusils were rare. The rest of the population were poorly dressed, and their heads looked exceedingly grotesque, owing to their unkempt bristly hair, but they were tolerably civil and used no abusive language. The taboo was rigidly maintained, on the alleged ground that, on a previous visit from the American steamer

'Susquehanna,' annoyance had been given by the rebels to the crew, but it is probable that they suspected our intentions. It was stated, however, that when the American minister was at Nanking, a midddy who had wandered about the place in search of the Porcelain Pagoda, had climbed over the walls, and thereby created considerable sensation among the Taipings, who resolved from that time to keep all intruding foreigners aloof.

On the 23rd, while we were taking a walk in another direction, we were again stopped by a wicket. In reply to the request which we made for an interview, and for admission into the city, the General commanding the outpost wrote to say that he had received the 'golden commands' of the Eastern King, to the effect that he was too busy in sending off troops to see us, but he forwarded, for our initiation into Heavenly Precepts, sundry pamphlets similar to those we had received at Chinkiangfú. The following is a list of these productions :—

1. Leviticus.
2. Deuteronomy.
3. Joshua.
4. Important discourses on Heavenly Principles.
5. Discourse upon branding the impish den 'Chihli' (Pekin) with the name 'Tsuy le' (an opprobrious word).
6. Book of Declaration of the Divine Will, 2nd series.
7. On affixing the Golden Seal to Royal Proclamations.
8. Treatise on Land Tenures.
9. Calendar for 1854.

These pamphlets were all fairly printed, but were the oddest jumble of truth and falsehood, of sense and non-sense.

We then despatched a long letter to the Eastern King, putting a variety of questions as to the number of the Taipings, the extent of country they had conquered, the number of their troops, their laws and usages, and so forth, while a request was made to be supplied with coal, of which in our walks we had seen great quantities.

On the 25th, crowds of a force just returned from some warlike expedition came on board the 'Rattler,' and examined everything most curiously. Most of them were dressed as soldiers in yellow coats with a red border, having short swords swung on their backs. One of them, who said that he had been impressed into the service, stated that at Nanking provisions were scarce, and that the rebels had, latterly, been unsuccessful in the north. He further remarked that it was generally believed that we had come to extort money, which had led to the refusal to see us. All our visitors had unkempt heads and a savage appearance, and, though sharp enough, they were a disreputable set. One small boy, ten or twelve years old only, bragged of having cut off the heads of five or six men, and inspected the ship guns in a most inquisitive way.

Having received verbal permission to take in coal from Kiahwán, in a creek close by, where there was an extensive coal-yard, we dropped down by what is called in the maps 'Theodolite Point,' and anchored opposite the coal sheds. Soon after, a Colonel came on board to ask us to wait till the next day, to which the Captain of the 'Rattler' consented. In the after-

noon a boat came off with a letter, written in the form of an order, telling us to go away, and demanding to know whether we wished to get into collision with the rebels. This letter, being offensively worded, was returned to the bearer. Two hours afterwards, a large gun was brought down by the rebels within a quarter of a mile of the 'Rattler,' while several others which were in a masked battery on the river bank, were disclosed, bearing directly on the ship. The officers on board were indignant, one young midddy stamping on the deck, furious with rage at the impudence of the Taipings; but the Captain, who had received orders to avoid, if possible, any conflict with them, thought it prudent to send a boat on shore to demand the meaning of this apparent act of hostility. The rascals who had dragged down the big gun swore it was only intended for the imperialists, but as it bore straight on the 'Rattler,' and as, in the narrow creek in which we lay, we should have been exposed to the possible treachery of the 'Brethren,' the Captain judged it advisable to shift his quarters, so we weighed anchor, and passing up the creek again, anchored in the main stream, near some mosquito-haunted marshes. These insects are most annoying at Nanking. They devoured us in swarms, and as we had no curtains, and the heat was great, we were obliged to submit to be stifled under a sheet, or to be bitten frightfully all over. The men rushed about the deck at night, angry and sleepless, pursued by their pertinacious tiny foes.

The Yang-tsze-Kiang river at Nanking, though 250

miles from the mouth, is a mile wide, and runs like a mill sluice, at the rate of five miles an hour.

On June 27, we received a letter from some minor official informing us that the Eastern King would answer our communication. This letter containing an offensive appellation, a remonstrance was sent in. The messenger was also told to acquaint his superior that a salute would be fired by the 'Rattler' the ensuing day in honor of the Queen's birthday, it being deemed prudent to mention this, lest the Taipings should suspect hostile intentions.

On the morrow, we received another letter to the effect that the word 'barbarian' had been used to distinguish between the Brethren and us, thus assuming all the offensive superiority to which we had objected. The letter also stated, with reference to our intimation, that a salute would be fired in honor of our Queen, that the Eastern King had been graciously pleased to accord his permission to us to do so, but desired at the same time that we should learn that the use of the word 'imperial,' as applied to our Queen, was highly improper, it being employed solely to signify the Deity. No allusion was made to our application for coal, nor to the wish we had expressed to visit the far-famed pagoda. The letter was most offensively worded, and was accordingly returned by the bearer, while an answer was again requested to our previous communication.

In the evening, a boat came off, bearing a letter, or, so-called, 'order' from the Eastern King, enclosed in an immense yellow envelope, eighteen inches long and

a foot wide. It was of great length, and contained answers to the questions put by us, while, at the same time, His Majesty, being greatly puzzled about the meaning of certain scriptural texts in his copy of the Pentateuch and the New Testament, put a great many questions to us in return, nearly all of them bearing on religious topics.

The letter commenced with a prologue to the following effect:—‘I am the Holy Ghost, appointed by special orders of the Heavenly Father, who personally took the trouble to come down on earth to instruct me,’ and a good deal more to the same effect. After this, our questions were answered, though, in most cases, very imperfectly and evasively.

The document asserted that the Heavenly Father, when about to enjoin His commands on mankind, came down personally on earth, taking the form of the Eastern King, and through his golden lips proclaimed his ordinances. Jesus Christ, it was said, similarly assumed the person of the ‘Western King,’ the next dignitary, and the name of ‘Tien-Kwoh’ was given to the dynasty founded by the rebels. We were informed that they had not, up to that time, struck coin, nor issued Government Gazettes, while their army was vaguely stated to be innumerable, and their range of empire to include the whole earth. Their laws did not appear to be well defined, but drinking was denounced under severe penalties, and many other crimes were apparently as severely punished as under ordinary Chinese law.

The theological questions put by Yang savored both

of shrewdness and absurdity. For instance, he asked, 'What length and breadth has God?' 'What is the color of His beard?' 'What clothes does He wear?' The same queries were made regarding our Saviour, with additional questions as to the number of his daughters and granddaughters. Then, some pertinent enquiries were made as to the right interpretation of difficult texts, such as, 'Repent ye, for the Kingdom of Heaven is at hand.' Yang asked why Jesus was nailed to the Cross, and why he rose again on the third day?

It appeared from this strange communication that, though the rebels had procured copies of portions of the Bible, they had no one competent to interpret to them the meaning of Scripture. The last remark made by the Eastern King was amusing enough. He enquired why we barbarians, who ought to bring tribute to the Celestial Kingdom, had the presumption to come to him and ask him for coal, thus showing our ignorance of heavenly precepts. In commenting upon our unenlightenment as to celestial doctrines, Yang compassionately observed that he was not much surprised at our ignorance, seeing whence we came.

The next day we formed a synod for the purpose of answering the questions put to us, by no means an easy matter, considering the absurdity of some of them. The rebels insisted that the Tatars must be the Satan mentioned in the Bible, and Yang ingeniously tried to establish this by several quotations which he thought apposite.

On June 30 we left Nanking, and just before we

got under weigh received a letter from one of the rebel Generals, requesting us to take to Chinkiangfú a brother of the Colonel whom we had brought up with us, and whom we had never set eyes on since we landed him. On the boat, which brought this missive, returning, we sent on shore our answers to the Eastern King's questions.

About three hours' steaming, aided by the rapid current, brought us to I'ching, on the left bank of the river, thirty miles below Nanking. Here we anchored, and, in the afternoon, pulled up a creek leading to the town, which is a large place, with a considerable population, but was pillaged and burnt the year before by the rebels. Though many houses in it were abandoned, there was an abundance of provisions, of which we were in need, and the inhabitants seemed much more respectable than the ragamuffin gang at Nanking. . They gave us tea and pipes in one of the Joss houses, which had apparently been visited by the rebels, as the images in it had been destroyed, and we set out afterwards to visit the magistrate, who had the politeness to come out in his chair to meet us. He and all the other officials were very civil, supplying us with everything we required, and, in all respects, presenting a most favorable contrast to our Nanking friends. Most of them had, however, lost their buttons, for their unsuccessful resistance to the insurgents, who, only a few days before our arrival, had again attacked the town, and killed a great many people.

On July 2, we reached Golden Island close to Chinkiangfú, but, on landing, were refused admittance

by the rebels. We found that this pretty little retreat of Boodhist priests had been quite ruined, all the temples having been unmercifully pillaged and burnt. We saw two handsomely carved marble pillars, one of which was broken, and some fine porcelain gable ends and tiles, but everything was mutilated, many of the houses having been knocked down to build a small fortification, behind which the insurgents had entrenched themselves. Failing to procure admittance to this famous sanctuary, we sent off to Chinkiangfú the rebel whom we had brought down from Nanking, and invited our old acquaintance, the General, to come on board, which he declined doing, saying that he had received orders not to visit us again.

The next day, we got into a boat and pulled down to Silver Island, visiting on our way the imperialist fleet, which was besieging Chinkiangfú. We went on board a square-rigged ship called the 'Glenlyon,' hired by the imperialists, on which were four Europeans, but no Mandarins, the latter being higher up the river. One of these men stated that the royal army encamped near Chinkiangfú amounted to 90,000 men, but this number must have been greatly exaggerated. We were told that, on the capture of the fortress by the rebels, 2,600 of the inhabitants were pressed as soldiers, and sent to Nanking, while their wives were locked up and guards put over them. After having been subjected to every kind of indignity, these women were driven out in a body at night in the direction of the imperialist encampment, each with a lantern attached to her breast, which the imperial troops seeing, mistook

them for a rebel force making a sortie, and, firing on them, killed a vast number.

The Glenlyon people said that the imperialists often charged up to the walls of Chinkiangfú, but were always driven back by the heavy guns mounted on the bastions, while the royal fleet, owing to the pusillanimity of the Mandarins, appeared to be useless. It was said that the rebels had fourteen or fifteen Europeans in their service, but that these were irregularly paid, owing to the uncertain position of the insurgent cause.

Silver Island, or more correctly Rocky Island (Tsiaou Shán), was formerly the site of a celebrated monastery, which, till destroyed by the rebels, was in a flourishing state. There was a very handsome temple, the images in which had been smashed, while the cloisters were destroyed and the sacred books burnt, every vestige of them having been made away with by the fanatical insurgents. We failed in obtaining any manuscripts whatever, though the library was formerly celebrated and extensive. From the monastery, a stone pathway leads to the top of the hill, whence there is a fine view of the surrounding country, including the course of the Yáng-tsze-Kiang river, the Chinkiangfú heights, and the fertile low land on the left bank.

Passing by Kiang-yin, we proceeded down to Láng Shán, or Wolf's Hill, and, with considerable trouble, made our way across the river to Fúshán, a station of some importance, with a fort. At this crossing, we found only three and three-and-a-half fathoms of water, and even this depth with difficulty. Heavy rain de-

tained us at Fúshán till July 6, when we steamed off again, but ran aground near Mason Island, where we had to wait till the next tide carried us off. On July 7, we got back to Shanghai without mishap.

The result of the expedition above narrated was to shake a belief which had prevailed among many persons that a pure type of Christianity had sprung up in China, inasmuch as an examination of the various publications brought back by us demonstrated that the rebels professed many absurd, not to say blasphemous, tenets on religion. It was further apparent that, although they had overrun a great part of the Chinese empire, and had, owing to the imbecility of the imperial rule, obtained considerable temporary success, they only occupied permanently a few towns of importance, while they had no hold on the revenue or trade of the country, and subsisted by plunder and pillage. They had certainly not enlisted the sympathies of the people about Nanking, who have little in common with the natives of the Fokien and Canton provinces, whence the insurgents came, and being, with but few exceptions, illiterate, they failed to command respect from the higher classes, even though many of the latter may have been opposed from patriotic feelings to Tatar ascendancy. It is to be feared that both they and the Mandarins oppressed the unfortunate inhabitants of the districts where the intestine feud was raging, and loud were the complaints of the cruelties practised by both sides. That the rebels were, at the time of our visit, only in possession of forts and other strong places, was proved by their inability to stop the flow of trade

on the Yang-tsze-Kiang and the Grand Canal. They had no commerce of their own, nor did they seem to care about intercourse with foreigners, distinctly asserting that, if the latter did not come to pay tribute, they did not wish to see them.

It is probable that many persons sincerely believed in the reality of the conversion of these strange zealots, but some of the reports spread about them were evidently untrustworthy. For instance, in a book published by Vizetelly and Co., giving an account of their proceedings and of the interesting communications with them held by Sir G. Bonham, there is a print representing the rejoicings at Nanking on its capture by the rebels. This print is taken from a French book containing pictures of oriental scenery, in which the identical print is to be seen as representing the Chinese feast of lanterns!

The Colonel whom we took with us to Nanking stated that, at the capture of that place by the rebels, thousands of people were ruthlessly murdered, and it is notorious that the native Christians were among the victims. Had any missionary of any persuasion gone among the rebels and told them that they held erroneous doctrines, and that Yang's assumption of the title of 'Holy Ghost' was a blasphemy, there can be little doubt that he would have paid for his rashness by his life. In short, there never was a more egregious mistake than to suppose that these fanatical and blood-thirsty robbers were sincere and pious Christians.

The question arises whether it is justifiable or wise to disseminate broadcast among oriental races translations

of the Scriptures without commentary or explanation, as has been done in China and elsewhere. In the first place, the translations themselves are not always free from error, as must needs be the case when a European renders into a foreign tongue, of which his acquaintance is partial and imperfect, phrases and words the exact meaning of which it is difficult to convey, when they are abstruse in signification, or when they represent a novel idea to an oriental mind. But, even supposing that the translations are perfect, and represent accurately the sense of the original, is it proper to let every man put his own interpretation on every passage, and communicate to others what may be an essentially faulty doctrine? It is not reasonable to say that the Word of God is sufficient, and will explain itself, or we should not witness such an absurd travestie as was exhibited by the Taipings in their religious tenets.

These deluded fanatics having procured from a Canton source copies of the Pentateuch and of parts of the New Testament, had blindly accepted the construction put upon the difficult passages by their leaders, and were consequently entangled in a maze of errors, from which, had they been actuated by the purest intentions, they would have had difficulty in extricating themselves. As matters stood, their chiefs misused the Scriptures to subserve their own political ends, and propagated a false and delusive belief, which did much harm to the advancement of real Christianity.

In the early days of missionary enterprise in China, *vivâ-voce* teaching was the weapon used by the Catholic missionaries, who, dressed like the natives of the

country, penetrated into the interior in every direction. For more than two hundred years they labored in China, with the tacit, or even open assent and support of its sovereigns, making thousands of converts, and winning for themselves, by their literary and scientific attainments, the respect of the people. They neither received nor cared for the protection of European Powers, but, after the China wars, fought in the interests of commerce, had entirely changed the relations of the China Government towards European States, it is not surprising that the Catholic missionaries should endeavour to get themselves placed on the same footing as their Protestant brethren, and consider themselves equally entitled to protection.

The accusations preferred against them at the time of the Tientsin massacre, by certain writers in the daily papers, were based upon imperfect information as to the circumstances, and ignorance of oriental prejudices. It is notorious, and the fact has been observed in all ages, that converts to Christianity are regarded with dislike by many of their pagan countrymen, who have not been slow to prefer false charges against them before the local authorities. Formerly, the labors of missionaries, if not encouraged, were, at any rate, not proscribed by Chinese officials; but, after the humiliation to which their country had been subjected in its wars with European States, their repugnance and antipathy to foreigners were greatly intensified. Being unable, however, to resist, by force of arms, the objects of their dislike, they wreaked their vengeance in the only way which was practicable, namely,

by courting false charges against helpless native Christians, and those who were devoted to the cause of religion and mercy.

The massacre at Tientsin appears to have arisen from a blind hatred on the part of the mob against all foreigners, rather than from purely religious bigotry, but both causes combined, no doubt, led to the outrage. It is to be lamented that certain daily prints took so little trouble to ascertain the real facts, but when allegations of petty larceny against an Emperor found admittance into the columns of a famous paper, it is perhaps not strange that Sisters of Charity should be deemed capable of imprudent conduct.

As regards the alleged arbitrary proceedings of French officials, it may be observed that, whatever may be their desire to push French prestige beyond due limits, their past history in the East does not lead to the conclusion that this is done in the interests of religion, to which, as is well known by those who have watched their actions, they are mostly very indifferent. Indeed, it may be mentioned in confirmation of this view, that the Bishop of Canton in vain applied to the French Consul at that port to procure the release of a native Christian woman who had been unjustly condemned to death by torture by the Chinese authorities, and that his object was only effected by the timely and humane intervention of the British Consul.

Without discussing further whether the indiscriminate dissemination of the Bible in China, where the copies are often applied to base uses, is judicious, or whether the publication of numerous tracts directly

attacking the superstitions of the Chinese may not have aroused religious fanaticism on their part, it is evident that the diffusion of the Scriptures by ignorant zealots like the Taipings, with the wild and distorted commentary put upon the sacred writings by their chiefs, was productive of great mischief.

CHIT-CHAT WITH FRIENDS AT HOME.

Off Socotra, October 26, 1867.

DEAREST —.—Such a delicious breeze! I am feeling as cool as a cucumber, and as fresh as a lark; and how we do all enjoy it, after the suffocating damp of the Red Sea! Notwithstanding all its miseries, the voyage is very amusing.

We left Aden, where there is not a vestige of vegetation (I was told afterwards that there is one garden), and which looks, what it is, the crater of a volcano, with strange fantastic mountains of lava, and small hills of coal, and numbers of seedy-looking camels trotting about, a regiment, and a few ships and shops. The chief amusement was buying ostrich feathers and watching native divers. About twenty of these fellows, quite black, and some with curly red hair, swam out to the ship, and dived for money flung out to them by the passengers, remaining, as it seemed, many minutes under water. They swam about the ship all day.

As we steamed away, we met the 'Malabar,' a transport, with troops for Abyssinia, and we gave them a cheer. Now we are fairly off for eight or nine days,

with 400 passengers, the most crowded mail of the year! I wonder the purser can survive the journey, as all complaints go to him, and how John Bull does growl and grumble when he can't get all his home comforts, and is hot! Certainly, the passengers are great fun. There is Colonel R., a good-natured man, but now in a perpetual ferment, boiling over and exploding all day long. Mrs. R., having no maid, has cut off her hair in despair. Mr. N. and Mr. V., the former looking like a surly bear, the latter like a perspiring frog, playing whist from daybreak to sunset. There is Mrs. O., a gushing young woman of forty, going out to her husband. She laughs heartily all day, and flirts with all the gentlemen, who make great fun of her. She sings, too, with a stentorian voice, devoid of sweetness.

Mrs. G. is *very* interesting! She is also going out to her husband, the event being so near that it might take place on board. She thinks everyone dreadfully selfish, and is full of woes, which she is ready to pour into our ears, while two crying children do not contribute to her peace of mind, nor that of her neighbours.

Captain F. has the fever, and life is a burden to him. Mrs. F. is doubtless in his eyes a fine woman, but is a perfect feather-bed, and has a little girl, who is frightfully spoiled and screams all day long. Colonel and Mrs. S. sit apart from the common herd, and only associate with 'dear Lords,' and Sir W. S. If she sits aft, she cannot enjoy her baccy (cigarette)! She wears a wondrous chignon. She likes everything,

and never grumbles, but is rather disconsolate at the prospect of losing 'her set' (the great people) at Ceylon.

Two. Miss Downfalls are in charge of Mrs. F., who has given them up, because they will dance with the ship's officers, and go on the forecastle after dark. Dr. M. is a good Samaritan, and supplies Mrs. B. with Liebig's mixture and China tea. She looks very well, but is dreadfully spoiled, and is a very bad sailor, feeding the fishes so frequently as to be a source of discomfort to her gudeman.

To-morrow we hope to be at Ceylon, and to rest there forty-eight hours. What a luxury to sleep in a real bed, and not to be awoke by a donkey engine, screaming children, cocks and sheep, or a pig giving its expiring squeak!

Madras, November 8.

I wrote last on the Indian Ocean. It was a weary run to Galle of nine days, the sea calm, but with a heavy swell on it, and we just escaped a gale of wind. The 'Candia' rolled in grand style, like the pendulum of a clock. The single incident was meeting a native boat in distress, it having lost its way. They delayed us some hours, and the '*on dit*' on board was that the captain of the said boat wanted to be shaved, and that his wife was anxious to possess a chignon.

You can imagine what a relief it was to the eye, after the dreary grandeur of the desert and the ocean, to feast our eyes on the exquisite loveliness of the luxuriant vegetation of Ceylon. Even the rocks out

at sea were covered with waving verdure, and the air really was scented with the spices and flowers.

We got safely into the rickety native boats managed by men in birthday suits, who shout and wail, and pull as hard as they can. When we landed, the feeling was like being in one of those tropical conservatories, but still it did not seem in the least oppressive. We put up at a fine new hotel, 'The Oriental,' our room being like a great barn, whitewashed, with an arch and wooden shutters for a window, the floor tiled, marble tables, and two iron beds, well protected with net curtains. How we did enjoy our champagne lunch! As it was Sunday, we drove to the Catholic church, our coachman and footboy being, with the exception of one small garment, both 'au naturel.' We found in the church an Italian Benedictine, who spoke English perfectly, and advised us to drive on through the cinnamon groves, which we did. What wonderful vegetation! date trees, cocoa-nuts, betel-nuts, and plantains, the natives running after the carriage with oranges, pine-apples, and flowers. When we stopped we were surrounded by pretty native children, bringing precious stones, pearls, feathers, and beautiful tortoise-shell ornaments for sale. I felt like a fairy princess. Some of the natives climbed up into a cocoa-nut tree, and having pulled off one, opened it, and offered it to me to drink. I thought it too sweet and sickly. Others brought sticks of cinnamon and lemon leaves for me to smell. They were very gentle, and seemed much amused.

What a luxury a real bed was, and did I not sleep

like a top! Next evening I walked with L. on the ramparts, and we saw such a sunset—gold, purple, blue, and green, with white spray, and a pink glow over all. At four o'clock next morning we were all on board; but, after leaving Gallé, we experienced strong head winds and currents against us, which sadly delayed our arrival at Madras.

Shall I ever forget that last night on board? I saw the sun set, without a sight of land; and, to add to our discomfort, it began to blow fresh, and an order was given to close the ports. Then the croakers, of whom there are always plenty on board, went about, saying the captain expected a gale, and that we should not be able to put into Madras for some days. L. made my bed up on one of the benches, as the heat below was stifling, and lay down himself on the deck beside me. It seemed but an instant afterwards when I was startled by the report of a gun, and, opening my eyes, found it was daylight. I had really slept soundly all night, and we had just dropped anchor off Madras. The 'Candia' was rolling about in a wonderful way, and everyone was saying what a dreadful night we had had; but I knew nothing of it. Of course, the voice of a croaker sounded in my ear. Do you see that flag, Mrs. B.? that's the danger flag! Sorry for you! Don't you wish you were going on with us to Calcutta?'

I made a hasty toilette, no crinoline, only petticoat and waterproof, and prepared for a grand ducking. When I came on deck, a number of officers had, I found, come on board, and one of them handed me a letter from Lord N., asking us to go straight to

Government House. We accepted, and I was afterwards very glad we did so, for I enjoyed the visit exceedingly.

Until all was ready, I amused myself by looking at the strange scene. Besides the large boats that came off for passengers, numbers of naked men, seated astride on logs of wood with a long paddle in their hands, came to have a stare at the ship and her company, their long hair streaming in the wind, and one and all shouting like madmen. After all our boxes had been let down into one of the crazy looking boats, which were full of water, I bid good-bye to our friends on board, and descended the ladder. What with the yelling of the people, and the dashing of the boat, I felt very much like the Yorkshireman, 'clean mazed and stagnated.' Just as I was preparing to jump in, a large wave came and dashed the boat like a nut-shell under the ladder, and lifted us up with it. Then down we went again, and I jumped safely into the arms of the ship's officer. Then we were several minutes in getting clear of the 'Candia,' each great wave carrying us back to her; and when she rolled over on her side, as if to crush us, it really was terrific.

The twenty natives who rowed the boat were invoking 'Santa Maria' and 'Xavier' all the way to the pier. I don't know why we were not all swamped, as I never saw such frightful waves; and no ordinary boat could have lived in them. I suppose the lightness of the native boats, which are made of bark, sewn together with thick twine, renders them safe. Arrived at the pier a tub was let down, and we were hoisted up in it.

A deputation from Mysore awaited our arrival, and great wreaths of pink and white flowers were put round our necks, and bouquets presented to us.

Now, let me see if I can give you a description of Government House. It stands in a very pretty park, but the foliage of the trees is much richer than in England, and there are tall feathery trees like gigantic ferns. The earth is quite red, and there are great birds which scream, and little blue birds; and instead of deer, there are antelopes jumping and bounding about in an odd way. The house is painted to look like white marble. There are no doors, but you drive under a portico, and ascend a flight of steps thirty feet wide, through a grand open hall, up a very handsome branching staircase, and everywhere there are great vases full of exquisite flowers. You finally arrive at a drawing-room like a Grecian church—all white, with pretty chintz sofas and easy chairs, with punkahs waving slowly in a sleepy way over you. From this you enter smaller drawing-rooms, without doors, and with arches instead of windows, leading into a wide verandah with Indian matting to keep out the sun.

Native servants, all dressed in white, with white and red turbans, stand about here and there, watching to see if anyone wants anything. There are no bells, and if you call out, 'Peon,' instantanly he stands before you. An Ayah with bare feet, rings on her toes, two large gold nails in her ears, besides earrings, a large ruby (?) inserted in one nostril, and a scarf gracefully wound about her person, was called up and told to take care of me.

We remained at Madras three days. The order of the day was—ten o'clock, breakfast; two, tiffin; and five, tea; and directly the sun set, we all turned out, Mrs. F. and I driving, while the gentlemen rode. All the grooms run, and are marvellously fleet. They wear short white dresses, scarlet and gold belts and turbans, and flourish long whisks of white and scarlet hair. Those who run with the carriage shout to the natives to clear the road. We drove up and down a fine road by the sea, the band playing, and all the world taking the air by moonlight. At eight we dined. Each evening we had a dinner party of thirty persons, and dined in the verandah, which was airy and cool, a band playing the whole time.

Bangalore, November 20.

As it is fourteen hours' journey to Bangalore, L. secured a through carriage, which is so comfortable that you can go to bed and sleep in it. As I stepped in, two neat square baskets were handed in, which turned out to contain a dainty dinner which Mrs. F. had kindly ordered to be sent—everything from ice to salt. We eat our dinner, and then I undressed partially, and went to bed with great comfort.

I was in the middle of a dream, when I became aware of a noise and something bright. It was quite dark, but a deputation had come down the line to greet us, and forty or more natives in white sheets, and with torches and tomtoms, were looking at me, much to my embarrassment. L. got out to speak to them, and they offered him fruit and flowers, one of them stand-

ing forward to make a speech. At four o'clock we stopped again, and there was another deputation, with more fruit and flowers, and atar of roses. There was a comfortable waiting-room, so I made my toilette, and enjoyed a cup of hot tea. Then we started again.

It was a glorious morning. L. said a litany and morning prayers, and, shortly afterwards, Bangalore came in sight, looking in the distance like an English village, with the spires of the churches peering up amidst the trees.

Inside the station were all the officers of the commission, with their wives, and outside the scene was most extraordinary. The whole native population had turned out. A rocky eminence in front of the station was one mass of human beings in white dresses, with every variety of colored turbans, producing a most picturesque effect. L. stood for a few moments on the steps, salaaming,—that is to say, bowing and touching the forehead with the right hand—and then we drove off, a detachment of cavalry galloping in front. As we neared our gates, we came to a triumphal arch—a mass of flowers, with 'Welcome' written above in white roses. Here the crowd was so dense that the carriage came to a standstill, and an address was handed in by one of the principal natives, accompanied by specimens of fruits. Then they insisted on putting a wreath of white roses and silver cord round my neck, and another round L.'s. When we entered our compound, guns fired, the flag was hoisted, and we were at home. The steps of the house were one mass of flowers, and a servant was waiting inside with a bouquet from the

Raja's own garden. As for myself, I was fairly bewildered, what with the dust, noise, and novelty of the whole proceeding.

Bangalore, December 4.

I enclose a list of our household; as each servant only does one thing, we are obliged to have a great many. Their costumes are light and airy. The three women, who are about our rooms, wear a scarf twisted round their persons, a jewel in one nostril, and all sorts of things in their ears, gold nails, &c., and on their toes they have silver rings. When I gave them their new scarfs they put them on, and then came and lay flat on the floor at my feet by way of saying, 'Thank you.' The butler and boys (we call them 'boys,' but they are all men, and some rather ancient), wear white muslin trousers, white calico upper garments reaching to the knees, and white turbans. The coachman and horse-boys wear blue cloth blouses, bound with scarlet, and fastened in at the waist with a scarlet and blue belt, white knickerbockers and scarlet turbans. In the hot weather, they wear all white, and they have bare legs and feet always.

I have a capital cook, but how he ever turns out such good dinners from the place called a kitchen is quite beyond me. They light little charcoal fires on the hearth, and there is no such thing as an oven or a grate, or a boiler or a jack! and yet we have joints and entrées, just as if we had one of Benham's stoves.

One thing is universal. They never express the least surprise. My butler, for instance, if you praise him,

says nothing. If you scold him, and tell him he is a thief and a liar, he receives your information with the same passive indifference. Last week, he told me his brother had killed his wife with just the same nonchalance. A few days after, he asked to be allowed to go and be shaved, because his brother had been hung, and it was their custom to shave at such times. All the servants are alike in this respect. They are all most attentive, and run like hares if I want anything, and are really very clever. The first dinner-party I gave, I troubled myself to arrange the flowers, but the next party 'master's boy' did it all quite as well as I did it myself, so I never troubled myself about it again.

L. went to Mysore, to pay his respects to the Raja, who sent me a garland of flowers, and a betel-nut to chew. He told L. if he came again without me, he would not receive him, and said he had heard I was good tempered and *long-handed*. Some translate this to mean extravagant, others charitable.

December 6.

We are very early people in this part of the world. Last Sunday they kept the feast of St. Francis Xavier at the native church, and we sent word that we should attend at mass. Such a wonderful sight! It is a fine large church, built in the form of a cross. It was beautifully decorated with flowers by the Indians, and round the altar great exotic leaves had been most gracefully arranged. The church was quite full, and we had to pick our way over the people to gain the two prie-dieu's, which Père C. had placed for us before the

altar. When the mass began, the people all sang in Canarese in a very touching and devotional manner. I should be afraid to say how many hundreds of the poor Indians went to Holy Communion, and their devotion was most edifying. Some of the men were grand looking fellows, with a single tuft of hair on their heads, and a white scarf twisted about their persons. The women, though of course very nude, were very clean, and wore all sorts of ornaments. Altogether it was a very strange sight! The priests dress all in white, and wear long beards. They look very worn and ascetic.

Now, C. will, I know, like to hear about the horses. Well! the stables are beautiful, and every morning before breakfast, I put on one of L.'s wide-awake hats, and hoist an umbrella, while L. lights his pipe, and away we go, down the front steps, through the flower garden. Of course I look very wise as I pass the gardener, and make believe I know all about his plants and flowers, while he, funny old fellow! wearing wondrously little clothing, bends down to the ground, and scratches the gravel and then his forehead, by way of saying, 'Your faithful servant.'

Arrived at the stables, there is a general neighing of welcome, for we feed the horses every morning with bunches of lucerne, of which they are very fond. A grand man in a blue coat and a scarlet turban, who looks so diabolical that Marie says she is sure he is the old gentleman himself, carries the bunches of grass. First comes Ajax, a wicked pony, but most handsome, who has a bushy mane and a mischievous eye. He affects to be shy and won't beg for his grass. Close to

him are Black Prince and Erebus, two black horses L. bought for my special use. When we have passed them, Gay, the old brown carriage-horse, has thrust out his head and neighed, and begins to beg beautifully, holding up his leg in an exemplary manner. Melbourne, his companion, is white and uninteresting. Then come the pets Ruby and Topaz, a pair of chestnut Arabs, pretty creatures, but not yet thoroughly trained.

My other pets consist of two peacocks, the poultry, supplying the table with fowls, ducks, and turkies, some lovely white rabbits with red eyes like rubies, and some white doves.

I shall finish my letter with a verbatim copy of the bill of fare for my first dinner-party, as sent up by the cook, and I hope it may amuse you as much as it did me :—

Hotche-potche soup.

Poulay.

Cotholathe Mouthong, with Allusonby sauce.

Mouthong thongconsom.

Judthum Voulvang.

JOINTS.

Mouthong—Cocks Turkey—Snips.

Blumanger—Sooka Poodang.

Maccaroning.

December 8.

Last week we had a most curious sight here in our compound. The great Gooroo, or Pope of Southern India, announced his intention of paying L. a visit. He is supposed to be an incarnation of the Deity. Of course he could not condescend to enter a Christian house, so L. had to receive him on the lawn. First came a number of natives dancing, shouting, and

beating tomtoms, then an elephant bearing two huge drums, with a baby elephant. Then the Gooroo, carried in a magnificent cross palankeen, which is borne so as to stop the way, he being the only person permitted to be carried in this manner. He is an old man of seventy-eight. He wore a gold tiara, an emerald necklace, and silver shoes, and behind him was carried his successor, a child of seven, who is supposed to have the marks of the Deity about him. Gooroo senior lives on vegetables, and actually drinks (*horribile dictu*) cow's water. He sat on a wooden chair, and L. opposite him. I was peeping through the venetians all the while. Just under the window stood six dancing girls covered with ornaments. They were very handsome, and had chignons of flowers—a regular bouquet at the back of their heads. . . .

Christmas.

The time draws near the birth of Christ;
The moon is hid, the night is still;
A single church below the hill
Is pealing, folded in the mist.

A single peal of bells below
That wakens at this hour of rest,
A single murmur in the breast,
That these are not the bells I know.

Like strangers' voices here they sound,
In lands where not a memory strays,
Nor landmark breathes of other days,
But all is new unhallowed ground.

It was just so. The sound of church bells below the hill woke me up about eleven o'clock, just in time to get up and dress for midnight mass, and L. read me out those lines from Tennyson, as we sat awaiting the

carriage. The church was all lighted up and looked very nice. The band of the 10th Regiment played Mozart's 12th Mass; Père C. gave Holy Communion, and we thought and prayed for all our dear ones at home.

After breakfast all the servants came with flowers and gilt limes, which they presented to us, wishing us a happy Christmas, and then the government peons assembled outside, with the bands, followed by messages and visits from the principal natives at the station. I have had to give all the servants Christmas boxes,—quite an undertaking,—and they took me in, and got double what they ought to have had, looking excessively pleased with themselves in consequence.

The Lancers the other day got up some theatricals, some of the men taking ladies' parts, but, as they had forgotten to engage a maid to superintend their toilettes, you can image how convulsed we all were to see a young lady appear on the stage with a crinoline and a tulle dress, of course quite transparent, which had never occurred to them, the heroine being quite unconscious of the cause of the excessive laughter which greeted her début, and attended her performance to the end.

January 6, 1868.

Once upon a time in Bungalum—somewhere down there in India, you know, or you don't know the exact whereabouts—it was early in the morning, so early that the sun was not up, though somebody else must have been, for, as the clock struck six, a cannon was

fired off—bang! and Mrs. Commissioner, who had been fast asleep a minute before, dreaming all sorts of pleasant things, woke up with a start. She had only been in Bungalum a few weeks, and had not as yet become accustomed to the six o'clock and nine o'clock guns,—one to blow her out of bed, and the other to shoot her in again,—so she awoke, turned round on her pillow, and lay listening to the sound as it boomed away over the parade ground. Mr. Commissioner was awake also, or has been for some time, per force of habit, being a very early bird. Up he jumps. Of course he knocks his head or his back with the weights on the mosquito curtains, and, having given one or other, or both, a conciliatory rub, disappears into his dressing room, from which he is not long in reappearing in stout yellow leathern gaiters, booted and spurred. Of course he takes a peep through the curtains at Mrs. Commissioner. 'Well, did I ever! what a kitten it is for sleep!' he mutters, for she has relapsed into her former state of blissful unconsciousness.

Let her sleep, while we follow Mr. Commissioner, who, having gulped down a cup of tea and munched a piece of toast with relish, walks out into the verandah, on which exeunt peons for 'Ajax' with all possible speed. There is a cold feeling in the air, and a white fog envelopes the landscape. The redoubtable Ajax comes sidling along, winking first at the horseboy and then at his master out of his mischievous eyes. He does not want to be petted, not he! and he pretends to object to being mounted, but it is all in vain, and Mr. Commissioner has jumped on his back. Now

for a spree, thinks the wicked pony, laying back his ears, and plunging out of the gate full tilt. Away they go, out of the civilised world of Bungalum, into the wild country, with its great boulders of rock, speaking of ancient earthquakes and upheavings, miles and miles. Not a soul, not even a policeman on his beat, sees the Commissioner ride forth, chuckling inwardly, as he reflects how he will take in the Amildar of Chitteldroog, and surprise all the native officials. He has heard of certain irregularities at the travellers' bungalow, and thinks there is nothing like going to the spot himself. It is a matter of eight miles, but, halt! here we are! Woh Ajax! A call from without the bungalow, a feeble response from within, and out comes a native servant, his swarthy limbs wrapped in a white sheet, wondering who on earth comes that way so early in the morning. 'What does the Sahib want?' 'Show me your price-list,' says Mr. Commissioner, taking no notice of the man's manner, which is not what it would be if he knew who his visitor was. 'You have not got one? then call the Amildar.' Native stares. 'So early in the morning, call the Amildar? and who shall I say wants him?' 'A Sahib,' replies the Commissioner, sitting back at ease in his saddle, while Ajax winks, as much as to say, 'Here's a pretty go!' The man in the sheet scuttles down into the village, reappearing after some time with the Amildar, not in the most respectful or pleasant mood at being so disturbed. 'Where is your price-list?' 'Haven't got one,' retorts the man, drawing near. 'Very well,' says Mr. Commissioner, rising in his stirrups with becoming

dignity. 'If you don't send one in before four-and-twenty hours you lose your place.' The Amildar stares. 'And who are you, Sahib?' 'The Commissioner.' The Amildar is electrified; he has jumped out of his shoes (a sign of disrespect to appear in them), and is now salaaming to the earth. The Commissioner flourishes his whip, and Ajax is already a mile on his return home before the astonished Amildar has collected his scared senses. While the news goes the round of the village, Mr. Commissioner sits on the edge of the bed, chafing his cold hands, putting in his shirt studs, and amusing Mrs. C., who is by this time wide awake, with the account of the morning's adventure. How cold it was! how Ajax did pull, and how he tried to run away after a sixteen miles gallop, as he turned in at the lodge!

In the meanwhile, a very picturesque group has come up to the bath-room door. A white bullock, laden with a large black skin full of water, the contents of which are being emptied into a big tub. Yes! we all wash in tubs at Bungalum, reminding one of the days of our childhood, of nurses, and Saturday night. Mrs. Commissioner watches the shaving process, and then her lord and master sallies forth again, and having asked her in a pointed manner if she knows what time it is, retires to his study.

Scene 2.—Enter Mrs. L., all smiles, with a cup of tea. Enters also from the garden Poochao, the black maid, hiding her face in her hands, as a mark of deep respect. Poochao always hides her face in the presence of Mrs. Commissioner. No doubt she imagines the

light of her countenance would be too great for her. Poochao's accomplishments consist in being able to wave a duster in the mildest manner possible, by way of dusting, and, with help, she can make a bed, and empty the basins and fill them, but Poochao is very honest and a good soul on the whole. Mrs. C. is dressed, and having called Mr. C., they say their orisons together before the ivory crucifix which stands, with their Prayer-book, at the foot of their bed. Then they sally forth, disturbing a small swarm of peons squatted on a mat in the verandah. The sentinels salute the Sahib. They wear a scarlet costume that looks well amongst the green trees, and would look well on nearer inspection, but for a white bandage which they wear under their chins, as if they suffered ever and aye from toothache.

Just as Her Most Gracious Majesty walks on the slopes, so daily do Mr. and Mrs. C. walk on the levels to the stables and poultry-yard. The sun is hot, the wind is cold, and when the solemn voice of the butler says, 'Breakfast on the table, Sir-r-r-r,' with such an 'r,' Mr. and Mrs. C. are quite ready for it and enjoy it.

Scene 3.—It is eleven o'clock. 'Garce mungow,' shouts the Commissioner to the peons—interpreted, 'carriage to the door.' Take it to Jericho. thinks Mrs. C., who always puts on a long face at this stage of the day's proceedings. At last Mr. C. gets to the door, but turns back and says, 'Let me see, did I give you a kiss or not?' Of course Mrs. C. says she thinks not, and so gets or takes another. Then Mr. C. sallies

forth, putting on his office face, for the peons in the verandah would lose all respect for the great man if they thought he cared for Mrs. C. Orientals look upon women as inferior animals. Mr. C. frowns. Peon seizes the great gold-headed stick, that magic wand, the sight of which strikes awe and veneration into the hearts of the natives of Bungalum. Of what passes in the fort from that hour until half-past five let no man enquire. Mrs. C. says it would not interest her. No doubt the grapes are sour. She will go there at half-past five o'clock, but she will not be admitted within its sacred precincts.

Scene 4.—Missus can see ! and soon gets out a smart bonnet, and in bustles with a rustle Mrs. Chatterbox, who is so anxious to see Mrs. Commissioner, and to have something to talk about. ‘Ah, yes, she knew the house in dear old Sir ——’s time. He was her father’s brother’s mother’s first cousin, once removed. She came to Bungalum herself as a bride, she won’t say how many years ago,’ &c. Having had her chat out, she departs. Enter Mrs. Alleyes, all curiosity to see the alterations. Mrs. C. feels that no great exertion is needed on her part in the conversational line. Mrs. Alleyes takes it all in. ‘New carpets? handsome! Sofas re-covered! water-colors, embroidered table-cloth.’ Alleyes shall write for some to-day. ‘And so that is the fashion? tassels! nothing new in the hair line? Good-bye.’ Exit Alleyes, and enter Mr. and Mrs. Pump, who let down the buckets at once. ‘So sorry to hear Mr. B. is going away! to H ——?’ Mrs. Commissioner replies that she knows nothing

about it. 'When is the Raja to be invested with the Star of India?' Mrs. C. wonders when, also. 'General —— will be down here soon, no doubt.' Mrs. C. thinks it is very possible. Buckets drawn up empty; and Pumps desist and depart.

Enter Mrs. Smalltalk. 'Have you heard of Mrs. Brown? What *do* you think people say of poor Mrs. White, because she took Colonel Blackbird home from the bandstand? And as to Miss Fickle, well, really! I don't know what to say!' She then departs. Enter young Jackanapes of the 11th with his bosom friend De Courcy Plunger. 'Haw! dull place, Bungalum! horrid slow place! nothing for a fellow to do! no balls this year! wish they were in a jungle, rather than in a half-civilised place like Bungalum.' One cackles while the other brays. D. G., exeunt both. Follows Mrs. Affirmative, and then Mrs. Negative. Shut up—two o'clock.

Solemn voice, 'Tiffin on the table, marm.' Mrs. Commissioner walks into her dining-room, and sits down at a large table in a big armchair to a nice basin of mutton broth. Four black faces, that is, eight eyes, are upon her. How loud that clock does tick! Mind wanders away thousands of miles to lunch going on at ——. 'My own dear daddy! mother darling! C—— love! how I wish you were all here! and there's Prince and Minette, and dirty old Tibby, and Tiny whining outside on the window-sill. Let him in.'

'Missus please.' 'Dear me, where am I? Oh, yes, all right!' and off Mrs. C. walks, to inspect a tailor recovering a sofa.

Scene 5.—Five o'clock. Chocolate and toast, and then away to the fort goes Mrs. C. in her easy barouche, with black horses, and the two running horse-boys, through the pettah, with its palms, temples, and shops, through crowds of natives staring and salaaming, through eastern sights and smells up to the old fort, under the gateway, up the hill through the inner gates, and then pull up. Mrs. C. pretends not to see the old madman, wrapped up in a ragged old shawl, who daily tries to intercept and get something out of Mrs. C., and the old crazy woman who has been every day for ten years with 'her case.' Mr. C. is long in coming, and a crowd has collected all staring. Some are handsome looking men, others dreadful objects with deformities. A stir! Mr. C.'s mysterious box, and the practical bottle of sherry and the empty biscuit-tin appear, followed by Mr. C. himself. Soldiers present arms, and then Mr. and Mrs. C. go for their evening drive, have a snug little dinner at eight, a little music, a little reading—petting? of course not—and then at ten retire to rest. So ends our day.

January 30.

Last week the Mahometans had their grand feast and holiday, after their fast. L. knew they would all go to the gardens (Lal Bagh) in the evening, so we made a point of going, no other Europeans being there except ourselves. The gardens were crowded with men and their children, all in their best, but no wives, who are never seen. The costumes were marvellous. Yellow satin trousers, crimson embroidered waistcoats,

with a showy Cashmere shawl flung over the shoulder, that was the fashion. There was, however, an endless variety, pink trousers and blue vests, and I must say I coveted some of the latter. We walked about, and L. spoke to the men he knew. I had a chat with a man and his two little children, wonderfully got up. I asked him where he had purchased the lovely embroideries the baby had on. He replied, 'Our ladies make the things.' The little girl, five years old, wore on her head a gold metal cap set with pearls, pearl earrings and nosering, six gold bracelets on one arm, a sort of loose green silk chemise, and a shawl pinned on her shoulders. Such a little oddity! She was really pretty, with the most beautiful hands and feet. The natives seem fully to appreciate the gardens, and every evening numbers are there sitting under the trees, or looking at the flowers and animals.

February 8.

The twelve o'clock gun has just fired. I am sitting at my writing table. The window is open; a pair of ring-doves are billing and cooing in the verandah; the fish are disporting themselves in the aquarium; there is a pleasant smell of mignonette and roses, a warbling of birds, and a chattering of squirrels. The sentry is walking backwards and forwards in the sun. What is he made of? It is Saturday, so L. is at home; but he is shut up in his study, seeing this person and that on important affairs! Official, of course! He has opened his door (to have a peep at me? it must have been for that). I have stepped in, and given him—never mind

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what—and have been packed out again in double quick time.

Last Sunday evening we had a row. The Gooroo went in state through the cantonment; and passing with his elephants and tomtoms in front of the mosque, where the Mahometans were at prayers, they sent out to prevent him passing—upon which the Gooroo's escort came back, elephants and all, and tomtomed louder than ever in defiance of the mosque and its inmates. This enraged the latter to such a pitch that they rushed out, and the Gooroo had to take refuge in a shop, from which he was afterwards conveyed away by the back door! In punishment for causing this row, L. has reduced his Holiness's escort from thirty to ten men, and forbidden him to come in future into the cantonment. Four hundred natives have signed a petition to L. against the insult offered to their high priest.

The Raja has just sent us a baby elephant, three months old. It was enticed from Mysore with sugar-cane, and now cries piteously for its mammy. We packed it off to the Gardens. It looks like a very old man who has lost his teeth.

March 28.

A telegram has arrived announcing the Raja's death. He expired at eleven o'clock at night, and at twelve next day his body was burnt according to the Hindoo rites. At five o'clock, all the troops at Bangalore, mustering 2,000, were had out on the parade ground, about half-a-mile in front of our house. I did not go

myself, but witnessed the scene from the verandah. It was a cool afternoon, the sun being hidden by a bank of clouds threatening rain, or rather rejoicing our hearts and eyes with the promise of it. In the distance, a cloud of dust and a beating of drums announced the arrival of the troops on the parade ground. On every side, crowds of natives in their white dresses were seen trooping towards that point. Major R. arrived in our compound in full uniform, and a few Silladars in their picturesque dresses came curvetting on to the ground. Then appeared the Commissioner on his beautiful Arab, in cocked hat and the Windsor uniform. The flag was flying half-mast high, and there was a great commotion among the crows, who doubtless were aware, not of the event, but of the coming rain. Then the bugle sounded to announce the Commissioner's arrival on the parade ground, followed by a salute of thirteen guns, fired in his honor. The wind dropped, and the flag hung motionless against the flag-staff. Somebody, given to feeling fidgety, strained her eyes through an opera glass, but saw nothing but a cloud of dust and an occasional flash of fire, when up sprang the breeze, and out floated again the flag, followed by a salute of twenty-one guns for the young Raja. *Le Roi est mort ! vive le Roi !* and down came drops of delicious rain—which is, of course, looked upon by the people as a happy omen. L. returned, it got dark, and down fell the shower. We had our chairs placed in the verandah, and there sat, enjoying the smell from the thirsty earth, and the pattering of the rain on the leaves, till it was dinner-time. The

frogs croaked, the lizards ran about, and the squirrels came hopping into the verandah, while we threw open all the windows and doors, and said, 'Oh! how refreshing!'

September 30.

On Saturday, September 19, a telegram was received from Mysore that the installation of the young Raja must take place on the 23rd, as the wise men and astrologers, having consulted the stars, found that that was the auspicious day, the hour to be between eleven and twelve o'clock. It was useless to remonstrate at this short notice, so L. said 'Fiat,' and I grumbled, and set Marie and two tailors to work and stitch their fingers off to get ready.

The Raja's stables having been reduced from unlimited supplies of horses and carriages to ten pair, it was no longer possible to post royally along the road of eighty-four miles in his Highness's carriage, as of old; so bullocks were laid, and, out of consideration for my bones, the bullock coach was discarded, and a pole adjusted to the office carriage, which makes up into a bed. I was only allowed the smallest portmanteau, which was tyranny and oppression to the highest degree, when three toilettes and a best bonnet, to say nothing of a crinoline, had to be stowed away. However, I could not remonstrate, when a Windsor uniform and a cocked hat had to travel ignominiously in a bundle!

A pair of bullocks having been pressed into the service with many blows and shouts, we set off at a

famous trot, a Silladar curvetting in front, and several more kicking up a dust behind, while a peon ran in front, shouting to everybody to keep out of the way. Away we went, down through the native town, the people staring and salaaming, out into the wild rocky country beyond. As we passed through the different talooks or villages, the Amildar or Magistrate came out to meet us, followed by the inhabitants, and, whilst we changed bullocks, presented garlands of flowers and limes, and chatted with my husband in Canarese of the coming event.

After a time the road became more rough—very bad indeed—and the bullocks had hard work to get along. The difficulty was overcome by a native, with only his loins girt, sitting on the shaft, shouting and twisting the tails of the poor beasts, while the driver lashed, and the peons, running on either side, poked them with their sticks! Two wild-looking natives ran on ahead, as it grew dark, with torches, the smoke and smell of which were anything but agreeable. As we approached the villages, a native with a curious horn announced our arrival by a cheerful blast. During the night, in passing through the villages, we saw the people asleep outside their huts, rolled up in their blankets, white or coloured, looking like so many mummies. The great banyan trees looked so ghastly in the moonlight, with their gnarled branches and beard-like appendages.

Once during the night we were awoken by loud cries, and, stopping, found that the Silladar had given a whack to a pair of bullocks at the head of a train of carts, which had resulted in the animals upsetting the

cart into a ditch. The cries were so piteous that we concluded that the driver was under his cart, and L. got out to render assistance, but found the man unhurt, sitting by the wayside weeping—I ought to say howling—and wringing his hands, Indian fashion, instead of setting to work to do anything.

At the Muddoor station, which was nice and clean, I made myself tidy; we had a comfortable breakfast, and, being joined by Major C., started again at six o'clock, in a comfortable carriage of the Raja's, with good horses.

We soon crossed the Cavery—the first Indian river I had seen. The country was very green with rice crops and mulberry trees, and is irrigated by water channels from the Cavery at this season of the year. We now got along at a great pace, and soon came in sight of Seringapatam peeping out amongst the luxuriant vegetation. There was the mosque, the fort, the tomb of Tippoo Sultan, the house and garden occupied by the Duke of Wellington, and the lofty monument erected to the memory of the officers who perished at the storming of the fort. In crossing an arm of the Cavery, we had a beautiful view at the Raja's bathing-place, beneath a very picturesque bridge. Great flights of steps lead down to the water, and women in bright clothes were filling their brass vessels with the water, and walking away with them on their heads. The river looked so deliciously cool that it is not very strange that these poor Indians should worship it when it is the source of such blessings to their country.

The next stage seemed very short, and we were

joined by a regiment of Silladars, who look very well in a body with their gold and scarlet dress and turbans. The native saddles also are very handsome, whilst the horses, adorned with colored ropes and tassels round their necks, add greatly to the general good effect. They certainly consider themselves fine fellows, and show off and kick up no end of dust. I was nearly choked.

Next we came upon a man with his horn; then a temple, with all the dancing girls outside in their best, with their priests and their everlasting tomtoms. A little farther on was a deputation of all the merchants of the city, with a congratulatory speech by a stout burly gentleman with much gesticulation, which, had we not been obliged to listen to it all most uncomfortably in the glare of the sun, would have amused me greatly. Then garlands and bouquets were thrown into the carriage. I was indeed rejoiced to reach the Residency, and get into the cool house.

On Wednesday, at eleven o'clock, we were all dressed and assembled at the Residency, which was formerly a palace of the Raja, and has in it one of the finest rooms in India. All the company at last arrived, and we went off in carriages, preceded by the Silladars, while natives ran on each side, bearing very long lances with scarlet streamers and gold cords and tassels. These lances they shake and clang in a peculiar manner, and to my mind most musically. In the procession were carried some curious batons and mitres, insignia of royalty.

All the people were thronging about, and when we turned under the gates of the fort, within which is the

palace, and arrived at the great square in front of it, the noise was such that it was impossible to make any one hear. It was all dumb show. God save the Queen! Native music! Tomtoms! A great mass of human beings in the square, and every individual shouting! Had I not been told what to expect, I should have been frightened.

Upon driving up in front of the palace, one of the princes, by name the 'Prince of the Chamber of Cupid,' a grandson of the late Raja, came forward. I salaamed, he salaamed, and extended his two hands, upon which I placed one of mine, and he led me up the steps, surging with people, into the inner court of the palace to the chair on which sat the young Raja, to whom I salaamed, and with whom I then shook hands.

My husband and Major E. following, did the same, and then they took the little man by the hand, and, leading him up the silver steps, lifted him on to his throne. Then you should have heard the row! The lances were clanged, the English hurrahed, the natives shouted, and the bands and tomtoms played. I never was in such a din, and the crowd surged up, and there came a perfect shower of flowers. We were pelted on all sides, and L. had to protect the little Raja with his cocked hat, while Major C. did his best for me; but it was hopeless, and there was nothing for it but to endure. My dress was ruined at once, all the flowers being soaked in attar of roses! I looked up, expecting to see the little Raja terrified and in tears, but, like a high-born Oriental, he sat as cool as a cucumber.

I must describe the little fellow to you, and his throne. Chamraj Wodiar, Maharaja of Mysore, is going on for seven years of age. He is not dark, but of a rich olive complexion, with most splendid eyes. He has bare feet, coat and trousers of gold, and a beautiful turban, hung round with great drops of emeralds and diamonds. Major E. had the state rings and bangles made to fit his small feet and fingers. The throne is like what one reads of in a fairy tale, of solid gold, very ancient, and exquisitely chased and carved. From the arms hang ropes of real pearls. The umbrella above it is surmounted by a peacock in emeralds and diamonds. Two attendants stood behind, waving feathers tipped with diamonds, and two others waved in the air, in a peculiar way, Cashmere shawls, or what looked to me like them.

After a time, order was established, and we all sat down, the English on the left, the royal princes on the right. The little king looked about him with astonishing coolness, and began chewing a betel-nut! Had he cried, the people would have thought it a bad omen. As it was, he was a born king, and they were all delighted.

Then followed the ceremonies. First came the Brahmins, with incantations and prayers, sprinkling the child with the waters of the sacred rivers of India. Secondly, his pedigree, from the gods down to the present day, was read out. We gave him three cheers, and there was a great row. Thirdly, presentation of the fruits of the earth, carried in on trays, the Raja laying his tiny hand on everything with great dignity.

Fourthly, presentation of twenty-one trays of presents, and a very handsome necklace, from our Government, and my husband fastened the ornament round the little fellow's neck. Fifthly, descending from his throne, the Raja presented twenty-one trays to L., and fastened a splendid necklace of pearls, diamonds, and rubies round his neck, a shawl, embroidered in green and gold, being thrown over his shoulders. Then the Raja placed wreaths of flowers over L.'s neck and mine, but he could not get them over my bonnet, which seemed to amuse him greatly. Then he presented each with a rose, and a gold tray being handed in, he scented the roses with attar, and gave each of us a betel-nut, after which he was again placed on his throne.

Then followed the homage of all his relatives, who advanced one by one, and bowing down, placed their heads on the throne, each offering a present, which the Raja just touched. Then all the English officers salaamed and shook hands, and were handed out to the carriages as before, amidst renewed shoutings, the bands playing 'God save the Queen.'

I must tell you that the floor of the raised platform was carpeted with cloth of gold, which was soon inches deep in flowers.

In the afternoon of the same day we went a second time to the palace for a *darbar*. Inside the palace is a great room, looking on and opening into the square, but upstairs, and the throne had been placed in the balcony, so that all the public might see it.

First came the Brahmins, and the child had actually

to worship his throne, walking round it three times, and throwing lotus flowers at the foot of it, prayers being meanwhile recited. Then L. put him on his throne, while the mob below closed in, and there was another storm of flowers, L. protecting the Raja's face with my fan!

Then there were wrestlers below fighting, then sword-dancing, and, behold, the State elephant, painted, and done up for the occasion in his best. He was led up to the front of the balcony, and saluted with his trunk in the air. He was followed by the State horse, magnificently caparisoned, and lastly came the sacred cow, worshipped as an impersonation of the Deity, covered with pearls and cloth of gold. Finally, all ended with fireworks and 'Good night!'

On returning to the Residency, we had just time to dress for the grand dinner given to all the European officers. After dinner, we drank the health of the Queen, L. made a short speech, and then we drank the Raja's health. After dinner, we had music, and we got up some Christy Minstrels' songs. In fact, everything went off well.

On the following day L. and I drove round the town of Mysore, and had a very picturesque view of the old walls of the fort, an avenue of trees, and a large tank or lake-like sheet of water, with Chamoondee rising beyond, on the summit of which is a house, and a temple dedicated to the tutelary deity of the Mysore dynasty. On returning, we all went to the stables to see the horses, and feed the pigeons, great beauties, and formerly special pets of the late Raja.

After breakfast, we went to the palace, and saw all over it. It is a most curious and interesting place. We went first into the inner courtyard, where the installation took place the day before, and then took a squint down a long dirty-looking passage to the kitchen, which Major E. advised us not to visit. Passing up an open staircase into a low wide gallery, we saw to the left the ladies' apartments, and turned to the right into a small ante-room lighted from above, in the centre of which was a square place railed off, and slightly sunk, in which are kept the sacred cow and her calf. The former was evidently viciously disposed towards us, and made a thrust at the railing to get at us, ringing a silver bell. Her daughter, however, was more amiable, and allowed us to pat her. They were both as sleek as horses, and had each an attendant, watching to administer to their wants.

We then went into the inner durbar-room. In the centre the ceiling was hung with long chains of colored glass beads, and, as the sun shone upon them, the effect was very pretty. The doors were of massive silver, carved all over with hideous gods and goddesses. I wonder why the natives imagine their deities to be so very unpleasing in their appearance. The silver doors were certainly very handsome, but Baptiste, with his plate powder, would have greatly improved them. The room was low, except in the centre, and full of portraits, some of which were dreadful daubs. The Raja frequently slept in the passage, and was taken from it when dying, and carried down-stairs and laid upon mother earth, as is their custom. The staircase

led up to some nice snug sitting-rooms. In the Raja's proper bedroom we were shown a pearl necklace, composed of 2,400 pearls.

We then went to another part of the palace to pay our visit to the queens. The gentlemen had to speak to them through a curtain, but I was allowed to pass behind it, with an interpreter, a Mrs. ——. On going in I found all the six ladies seated on chairs. I salaamed to each, and shook hands. A chair was then placed for me before the first queen, and I was asked to sit down.

As to their costume, as they were in mourning, no jewels were worn, and all had plain clothes, excepting the first queen, who had on a very magnificent green and gold shawl. She was a nice-looking old lady, with refined features, and after shaking hands with me, rarely spoke during my visit. Next to her sat No. 2, a jolly, good-natured, portly old lady, who talked all the time as fast as her tongue would go. She began by drawing my chair close to her, and seizing and squeezing both my hands in hers, said she was delighted to see me, and we had the following conversation.

Mrs. B.—‘I hope you were not all much fatigued by yesterday's ceremonies?’

2nd Queen (tears rolling down her fat cheeks).—‘My two eyes were not big enough to look at it all! but you must intercede that it may not be all show, but real!’

Mrs. B.—‘There is no further need of intercession. The boy is crowned, and the British Government will protect his rights.’

3rd Queen.—‘We are overcome with gratitude to Mr. B. We know that all the joy we feel is owing to him.’

Mrs. B.—‘I should like to see the mother of the young Rāja.’

1st Queen.—‘We will send for her.’

Then the second began talking to my husband in Canarese through the curtain, and in a few minutes in came the young Rāja and his mother, a very nice looking young woman, with splendid eyes like her son’s. She salaamed down to the ground, and then, with all her heart in her eyes, she took up the little fellow and put him on my lap, saying, ‘I give my child to you. He is not mine any longer, and you must protect him, and intercede for him.’ Then women servants came in with a silver dish, with a garland of flowers, which the child took and put round my neck, and then placed a rose in my hand, scented by him from a gold scent-bottle with attar. Finally, he handed me a betel-nut, all of which I of course accepted with a salaam.

The little boy was superbly dressed, and had on such a necklace!

1st Queen.—‘Do you admire the necklace?’

Mrs. B.—‘It is most beautiful, but the child is far handsomer than the jewels.’

At which pretty speech, great satisfaction was evinced by all the ladies.

3rd Queen.—‘I see by your face that you love children. Have you any of your own?’

Upon which an explanation followed of the loss of my baby.

2nd Queen.—‘ You have travelled a long way. Do you like India ? ’

1st Queen.—‘ We will show you our jewels. Lady D. could not speak for looking at them ! ’

2nd Queen.—‘ You speak more kindly to us than any English lady we have seen. We like you better than any one we have seen.’

But here a message came that I had remained long enough, and that I must come away, so I shook hands with them all, the second queen begging me to ask L. to send them to Benares, that they might finish their religious duties for their husband’s soul. The little Raja gave me his two hands, and conducted me out with astonishing self-possession and gravity.

When I got out the gentlemen began laughing at me for staying so long, but I found they were, nevertheless, all curiosity to know what the queens were like, and what they had said.

We next visited the library. The books are all written on palm leaves, strung together, and compressed between wood, ivory, or silver plates. Poems and fairy tales comprise the literature of the country, and some of the books were illuminated.

We then visited the armory, a most curious collection, but some of the weapons were terribly cruel, and made me shudder ! We then passed into a great durbar-room, full now of boxes of treasures. We had one box opened, and looked till we were tired at ladies’ clothes made of cloth of gold, worth 1,000 rupees each. We saw shawls by the dozen, and our eyes ached with looking. Some of the boxes were

marked outside with the name of the queen whose particular treasure they contained.

I was attacked by a violent cold, and could not go to the evening durbar, but was told that the little Raja complained of the great weight of his turban, and begged he might have a lighter one, which, I think, shows him to be a very sensible child.

On returning home, we travelled at different hours, and I was glad to see something of the country we had before passed in the dark, parts of which are strikingly picturesque. We entered Bangalore in the evening, and as we drove through the pettah, or native town, we came in for the procession at the close of the Dussera. All the gods and goddesses were being carried on cars with shoutings and tomtoms, the people being painted and got up in most extraordinary costumes, so that it really was a very singular sight, but I was so sleepy and tired that I could hardly take it all in. Thus ended our visit to Mysore, which I thoroughly enjoyed, notwithstanding the fatigue and my cold.

November 16.

I sit down to write to you in a distracted state of mind. I don't know how many times this morning I have said, 'I *shall* lose my temper!' but L. only laughs and says, 'When you do, let me see it!' and then I sit down and laugh. Sometimes I think if I had known the worry, fuss, and expense, no scenery in the world would have induced me to go into camp; but the pleasure of being with L. all day is so delightful that,

after all, I think I shall perhaps not regret it. You can have no idea of the preparations for a three months march. The first detachment has just gone off, and the butler has been in, all smiles, salaaming down to the ground, to inform me he was able to start. He was evidently much pleased, no doubt having taken in the Mem-Sahib (me) nicely, and made a good thing of it for himself.

Just at the last I really had a great deal to think about. What with making arrangements for the camp and for servants left behind, beset by those going, who wanted an advance of wages, coats, and blankets, wives that wanted to go with their husbands, anxious mothers who preferred to stay behind with their children, but wanted their pay all the same, and 'boys' that had fever and could not find substitutes, I was 'sat upon.' and that too on a Monday morning, in my best frock, receiving visitors and friends who came to say 'Good bye!' No wonder I was distracted, and had disturbed slumbers, and that my temper was ruffled,—only ruffled. mind.

Chennapatam, November 18.

The clock struck four, and then it struck five, and a voice said, 'Time to get up.' Then somebody lighted a candle, it being quite dark, and coaxed somebody else out of bed. It was so cold, but Marie soon appeared with a cup of hot tea and toast, and at six o'clock we started. Poor old Poochao, the house-sweeper, came and knelt down at my feet and sobbed. She was not going; she was too old; and, as she does not speak

English, I was powerless to console her. The salute was fired as we passed out of the gates. A Silladar rode on before, and two others followed the carriage behind. As we passed through the native town, which was not yet astir, we saw the people lying asleep, rolled up in blankets in the verandahs in front of their shops. As we went by a temple, an old priest rushed out, and screamed out something that sounded like a curse, but was, I believe, intended for a blessing.

We were travelling in an open carriage, and so cold was it that I wore my wadded velvet jacket, a Scotch plaid over my knees, and a velvet wideawake to keep my head warm, and yet I shivered, yes ! shivered in Southern India. As we drove along, there were beautiful lights from the rising sun on the wild rocks, and patches of highly-cultivated land, and vultures were sweeping and careering over the landscape in search of their breakfasts. The sugar-cane and rice crops looked most flourishing in the low wet land under the great tanks, which have all the appearance of natural lakes. Many of these have been most skilfully constructed, giving proof that the natives knew something of engineering, long before English rule and public works were thought of.

When we came in sight of a talook (village), a man with a long brass horn blew a not unmusical blast to announce our approach, and then out came a troop of Silladars on prancing steeds, in their picturesque dresses, and, joining our cavalcade, entered the village, where the Amildar or Magistrate at the head of the population awaited our arrival, with the usual compli-

mentary wreath of flowers, lemons, &c. Then L. spoke to them, enquired about the crops, heard a few grievances, and on we went.

As we turned into the compound at the bungalow, the flag was hoisted, for it always travels about with us, when L. goes on an official tour, and I saw our camp pitched close by. Our tent was a large one, divided down the centre by a passage which went all round, and having two bath-rooms, the exterior of white canvas, and inside yellow and black stuff.

After breakfast, L. went out riding, to visit two curious tombs outside the town, the priests of which turned out in fine dresses, with tomtoms and two dancing girls, doubtful characters, all bedizened with finery, as is the custom when anyone of note arrives at a place.

I went to bed early that night, my first in a tent. It did seem so strange! Such an examination of the bed for fear of a snake! At last I slept, but was awoke often by the horses and other noises. At four o'clock we heard a row, and presently a horse galloping. It charged right at our tent, and stove in my bath-room. I fully expected it to come on to my bed! L. was up instant, and it turned out to be 'Rex,' who had broken loose, and was amusing himself in an undignified and dangerous manner for his royal person. However, no legs were broken, and the horse-boy was reprimanded with a great many 'woppus lao,' whatever that may mean in Hindostance.

Muddoor, November 19.

Out of bed at five o'clock, dressing by candlelight in a tent. It was so cold, but I had provided myself with a flannel dressing gown, and was soon comfortable in my warm English cloth habit. It seemed ridiculous to put on the large pith hat, with its thick white turban of muslin. 'Fritz' seemed astonished at being mounted by torchlight, arched his noble neck, and looked round in expectation, and was not disappointed, for I had saved him half my toast. Exit from the compound.

Picture the scene, a wild road, with large banyan trees on either side, with their fantastic roots, and great branches stretching far and low. A native going on ahead with the eternal horn, now and again stopping to turn round and blow the cheerful blast. He was followed by two peons, one carrying L.'s gun, and then came our three selves, Capt. C. on a large ugly Australian bay horse, L. on Tsar, the grey Arab, and I riding Fritz, the horse-boy running by my side, with his bare black legs, white knickerbockers, blue cloth jacket bound with scarlet, and scarlet turban. A little way behind, two mounted Silladars, whose costume I have already described as picturesque, more peons, and then the bullock-coach with Marie and Rosalie.

I enjoyed the ride so much, but was glad, after seven miles of it, to get into the palankin, of which this was my first experience. It was a very nice one, painted green outside, and has sliding doors and four little windows, and a sort of shelf with little drawers on the top, and a tin imperial which carries a change of clothes, books, &c. It has nice green leather cushions, and you

can lie down or sit up. It is carried by twelve men, who take it in turn, six at a time, changing every hundred yards. The disagreeables are the motion and peculiar singing of the bearers, rather a dismal ditty, but I soon got to like the one and forget the other.

On reaching the bungalow at Muddoor, the priest turned out of the temple, and a man with the tomtom ran on in front, followed by a horn-man. Such a din! but it means respect, and you salaam and are grateful. Some natives were waiting on the steps with a dish of plantains and flowers, which they did to please us, poor creatures, and I was sorry that I could not speak to them. Crowds of people came with petitions, some of whom lay flat on the ground when they presented them, whining over their misfortunes or peccadillos. This man has not repaired his tank, and that one has been fined for insubordination, and when L. declines to interfere, they come round to where they can see me, and gesticulate until the peons come and send them off.

In the evening I walked out with L. to a large tank and got on to the 'bund' of it. The ground about Muddoor is white with incrustations of salt! We picked some pretty little flowers, but it got dark quite suddenly, and I was in a fright lest we should step on snakes. I had serious thoughts of asking L. to carry me, but, reflecting that he must know better than I the habits of these *bêtes noires*, I became reasonable, and we got home safely, dined, and turned into bed early, sleeping soundly.

Mullawalli, November 20.

Started by torchlight, a native running ahead of our horses, carrying a blazing stick, over which, from time to time, he poured oil out of a really elegantly formed brass bottle, which was so pretty that I shall try to get one. It was light by the time we came to the ford, and there was not much water in the river, in which the natives have large melon-beds that answer very well.

The country through which we then passed was stony and barren, but the lights in the mountains were lovely. L. pointed out to me Cubbal Droog, where a great many Englishmen were imprisoned by Tippoo Sultan at the end of the last century. The country became less barren at last, and we passed a pretty little temple on a rock in the middle of a wood by the side of a small stream which we forded. I looked back to see what would have made a charming sketch, blue mountains, green foliage, reddish rocks, white temple, river in foreground, riding party winding down the descent to the bank, and Silladars in scarlet uniforms on grey steeds, altogether just such a sketch as Simpson would have taken.

Soon after, we met Captain C.'s pony carriage, which I got into, for the sun was getting hot. 'Brandy and Soda' stepped out famously, but the road was so bad that we must have been upset, but for the running horse-boys to help us out of difficulties. Just as we reached Mullawalli, Soda performed a very eccentric trick, charging down a steep bank into the middle of a troop of Silladars, sending their horses flying in every direction, and very nearly turning us over. At Mulla-

walli we found the tents pitched around a nice small bungalow, which had been most tastefully decorated with large plantain leaves and flowers, on which evidently great pains had been bestowed by the Amildar to surprise and please us.

I passed a quiet day, and when it got cool we strolled along the high road, out of compassion for my fear of snakes. The country was well cultivated, and a very striking hill rose out of the valley, reminding me of Schloss Eltz on the Moselle. It is inhabited, I was told, by bears, and is very difficult to ascend on account of the jungle.

Sivasamoodrum and Billukwadi, November 21.

Started at half-past five towards the bear-hill, passing round its base. The country was wild and beautiful, with mountains in front of us, but the road so bad that I had continually to get out of the pony carriage and walk.

At last, we reached Sivasamoodrum, a most strikingly picturesque place, on an island in the centre of the river Cavery, closed in on every side by high hills. We crossed the bridge built by the father of the present Jagcerdar, an educated man, who built and furnished a bungalow, where he entertained all comers at his own expense. His son met us on the bridge, mounted on a white pony. He looked unhappy, having just lost his second wife, who died of the fever of the Cavery, which is malignant.

As the place is unhealthy, L. had arranged to leave before sunset for Billukwadi, and as the great thing to

be done was to see the Falls before the sun was high, we hurried on somewhat disheartened, for our breakfast basket had not turned up, nor the palankin, so I could not divest myself of my thick cloth riding habit, which was oppressively hot.

However, having taken a dry biscuit and a cup of milk, we hoisted our white umbrellas and 'topees,' and started at once for the Falls. Shall I ever forget it? First, shaken to pieces along the rough road in the pony carriage, scrambling down a rocky path, with the grass above one's head, in fear of my life for snakes and tigers, embarrassed by my long, hot, and heavy habit, and at last the glorious view of the Falls to repay me! Seated in the shade, almost on a level with the river, looking up at the foaming waters rushing over the rocks above, and falling thence a height of 250 feet! a rainbow adding to the general effect.

Scrambling up again in the full glare of the sun, but shaded by white umbrellas, we rested on the top of some big stones under trees near a temple which overlooks the Falls, or, rather, I should call it, the tomb of a Fukeer. Through the doorway we could see the tomb covered over with a scarlet and green cloth, embroidered with gold.

We then drove on, and descended again on foot to the Bhur Chookee, or lower Fall, which, to my mind, is by far the most striking, and here, at last, we got our breakfast under a big tree, with the spray in our faces. The spot is grand and picturesque, but there is a sad story connected with it, a young lady having fallen, or, some say, jumped over the fall, her body

being never recovered, owing to the rapidity of the river rendering it impossible.

After breakfast, we were obliged to leave our shady retreat, and were well grilled before we reached the main road again, where I found my palankin waiting. I was glad to be carried off, the bearers all the while chanting in their quaint way. As far as I can make out, what they say is—

Grandmamma—diddle 'um.

Chorus.—Just so ! Just so !

And she is all by herself.

Chorus.—Aye ! Aye !

And a rare 'un !

Chorus.—Ah, do ! Ah, do !

Charlie is a baboo—oo—oo.

Chorus.—Just so ! Just so !

All of which L. declares means ' She is as heavy as an elephant.'

On reaching the deserted-looking bungalow, we found that great preparations had been made during our absence. The Jageerdar seemed to have been puzzled as to what English people would like to eat and drink, and had therefore done his best to satisfy every taste. On the floor were arranged bottles of pickles, champagne, claret, liqueurs, beer, soda-water, a Bologna sausage, cheese, and preserves, while a bat and a rat disputed possession of the apartment. The bullock-coaches having come up, we were able to bathe, dress, and take a nap, and afterwards to partake of the hospitable cheer, of which what we saw on the floor was only a small instalment, soup, a gigantic turkey, a ham, half a sheep, and a chicken curry appearing in due course on the table. We supposed that the Jageerdar

wished to keep up his grandfather's reputation for hospitality.

In the afternoon, he came to visit us, accompanied by two Brahmins, who did all the talking. These men have three painted marks on their foreheads, the centre being yellow and the two others white, and they shave their heads in front, leaving a long tail behind. They wear long white clothes about their persons, and have great influence over the natives.

At five o'clock we started for Billukwadi, and found on our arrival the tents pitched and the dinner ready. A dense population thronged the entrance to the town, and of course we had from the Amildar the usual presents of flowers and fruit.

Bunnoor, November 24, 25.

A swingeing long march of sixteen miles, but, the road being good, we were able to get on well. Fritz was very troublesome, being as fresh as a lark and up to a spree. Bunnoor is a large place, and the people came out to meet us with a perfect din of native music, and a dancing girl who had rings on her fingers and bells on her toes (or ankles). The tents were pitched on a sort of green, surrounded on all sides by ruins of ancient temples, with hills in the distance. The people sent their offerings of fruits and flowers on the most delightful old metal plates, which I really longed to keep, as they were so quaint. In the evening crowds of women came inquisitively round my tent, and I went out with Rosalie and spoke to them. They said they had never seen an English lady before, were half shy, and kept

hiding their faces in their clothes. They had all coughs, I observed, and no wonder, when, in the coldest weather, they only wear a strip of muslin round their persons. The crowd rapidly increased, and I was obliged to retreat. Afterwards we walked out and had a look at the curious remains of the old temples, the carvings of which had been beautiful. There were portions of gilding and painting on the outside, but the gates were locked, and we could not get inside.

Next day L. rode out twenty miles to Nursipoor, getting back to breakfast. He came back much pleased with his expedition, having visited at Somnathpoor a very fine temple built in the time of the Balal Rajas, who conquered this part of the country. He told me the carvings were most beautiful. The square courtyard contained fifteen cells, supported by finely-carved pillars, the roofs and entrances of the cells being exquisitely chiselled. It was only four miles from our camp, and I regretted having missed seeing these curiosities.

All the country round Bunnoor is agricultural, but, as the crops are now under water, the place is unhealthy.

Seringapatam, November 26.

Such an interesting day! As usual, we started by torchlight across country, a narrow path between cactus and aloe hedges, ten feet high at least, on either side, so that it was difficult steering to keep oneself and one's horse from being pricked. Before it was light we forded some streams, and skirted the margin of the

Bunnoor tank, when a gleam of daydawn appeared in the horizon. After riding some miles along the top of the tank embankments, we reached at last a little temple on a hill, where my palankin was to await me, but there was no sign of it, and the natives declared it had never been through, while, to add to the *embarras*, there were two roads, and we did not know which the bearers might have taken. L., with a few followers, took one, and Captain C. and I the other. The road was so stony that we could hardly get along, and meanwhile the sun was up, so that I was right glad that I had put aside all thoughts of vanity, and donned my pith hat, a headpiece which, owing to its air chambers, gives the wearer the appearance of having water on the brain. After scrambling along with many interjections, such as 'Steady there!' 'hold up, Fritz!' 'is it safe?' 'had I not better get off?' at last we met a native, who said the palankin had gone on through his village, so we pushed on whenever the stones would permit us to do so, until, joyful sight! I saw the white roof of the palankin, and, a little farther on, we were joined by L.

I don't think I shall ever forget crossing the Caverry river a little later, hoisted on the heads of a crowd of natives, all shouting, screaming, and gesticulating, the river, the costumes, the old trunk of a tree made into a boat, holding the peons, and dragged over by figures wading, while the riding party forded the stream on horseback. A great crowd awaited us on the other side with native music, but the heat was great, and we went on at once to our tents, which were pitched in the

old fort. None of the carts had however arrived, and there was therefore no breakfast for us, but I was treated to, and refreshed by, a draught of milk. It afterwards turned out that the camp had marched thirty miles instead of twenty, and Marie, in her bullock-coach, did not arrive till four o'clock, but still in good humour, notwithstanding. In the evening, I sat in my easy chair on the ramparts, to witness such a grand sunset! quite pink, and reflected in the river, a sort of Turner gone quite mad!

Seringapatam. November 27.

We were lazy to-day, and did not sally forth from our tents before six. It had been arranged that we were to see Seringapatam on an elephant, and one of the Raja's had been sent out from Mysore, but we found it had only a native howdah. I scrambled up by means of a ladder into it, but we found it very uncomfortable, as we were obliged to sit cross-legged in it, so we got out and drove in the Raja's carriage, which had been sent to bring us into Mysore.

The fort is still a very strong place, although very ruinous in parts. A native population lives within the walls, and the mosque in the enclosure is really strikingly beautiful, but we had not time to go inside and ascend the minarets, from which L. said there was a grand view, as the sun, our formidable enemy, would not allow of our seeing everything, and we therefore gave up the proposed visit to the mosque and temple.

The tombs are about a mile and a half from the

fort. As soon as we reached the gate, we were greeted by a burst of native music from a room above the gateway, a horrid din. What can I liken it to? a band tuning up? a drummer gone mad? and a clashing and clanging of pots and pans, always fortissimo, with no piano? The priests (Mahomedans) and their attendants were waiting for us at the gate with a State umbrella, and two curious symbols. A long avenue of cypresses, with trim flower-beds neatly kept, led up to the tomb, and I had no idea that I was going to see anything so striking.

On a raised terrace at the end of the avenue stands the tomb, with an arcade all round it, and a mosque on the right-hand side. The base of the building is supported by polished black marble columns, which are very handsome, all the rest being pure white, and adorned with fine carvings. The doors are of ebony, inlaid with ivory, and at the principal entrance hangs a scarlet curtain embroidered with gold. Inside, in the ground, are the three tombs of Hyder Ali, his wife, and Tippoo Sultan, the greatest enemy we ever had in India. Each tomb was covered by a splendid Cashmere shawl, embroidered with gold, all of different patterns. Peacocks' feathers, and other insignia of royalty, lay about on the floor, and incense burnt in a niche, the people still venerating the memory of Tippoo, and calling him 'The martyr,' although he was one of the greatest tyrants that ever lived. We did not go into the mosque, as it is not popular to do so.

In the vicinity of the building are other tombs, all nicely kept, and one kind of grave struck me as a

pretty idea. It was a flat stone, raised, the centre being hollow, and filled in with earth and flowers.

The graves of the English officers close by are a sad contrast to all the pagan magnificence, the ground being overgrown, not a sign of Christianity, and the names on the ugly flat monuments in nearly every case obliterated.

L. carried away a rose from the garden, and sent it to Prince Gholam Mahomed at Calcutta, who is personally known to him.

Near Seringapatam, on the road to the tombs, is the village of Ganjam, in which are twenty Catholic families, all people of high caste, who have built themselves a neat little church, which we visited on our way to the Duria Doulut. We found the little congregation all assembled, and the church very tastefully decorated with ropes of flowers. The statues, made by natives, were somewhat remarkable, and would no doubt be pronounced by some as uncommonly like idols, but I dare say the people appreciate their own ideas of the beautiful, more than anything we could produce in accordance with our notions.

After saying a little prayer in the church, which is only visited from time to time by a casual priest, we drove on to the Duria Doulut, or garden palace of Tippoo Sultan, which was occupied by the Duke of Wellington for some time after the siege. Government lately gave an order for its restoration, and 5,000*l.* were spent in renewing the decorations, and it is, in its way, quite beautiful. The exterior walls are covered with the most curious frescoes, representing the triumphs of

Tippoo over the English. Everywhere he is represented as complacently smelling a rose, either on horseback, in a palankin, or mounted on an elephant, in the midst of the most dreadful carnage, in which of course the English are shown as getting the worst of it. The perspective is amusing, and legs, arms, and heads are flying off in every direction, but, on careful inspection, the corresponding bodies will be found somewhere. The building is two storeys high, and, inside, the walls are covered with richly-painted arabesques, something in the style of the Alhambra at the Crystal Palace, only far more beautiful, and on a larger scale.

We breakfasted in the centre chamber of the second storey, although it seemed almost out of keeping with the spot to do anything so commonplace, the atmosphere and surroundings of the whole thing making me feel like an Eastern princess in a fairy tale. After breakfast we decided on remaining till the afternoon, so the Brahmins and merchants of Seringapatam came here to see L., who went into the verandah, and, seated in an armchair, listened to all they had to say, whilst they sat cross-legged, without their turbans, in front of him. Such a curious scene! I was a spectator from a balcony above. Afterwards, as it became hotter, I grew sleepy and dozed off on a sofa, my eyes dazzled by gilded walls, and my ears refreshed by the splashing of a fountain in the garden, the singing of many birds, with a pen-scratching accompaniment, for there were L. and Captain C. hard at work, while a delicious breeze laden with the perfume of roses, wafted through the chamber. What a strange incident in my life! I

thought, and then—sleep overcame me, and I hope I did not snore.

At four we started for Mysore. I hardly recognised the Residency, as all had been brushed up and made so pretty by the good taste of Major and Mrs. C. In the evening there was a dinner-party, and imagine Marie's distress of mind, when she unpacked my box, and found she had left behind my chignon, wig-puffs, and all my white gloves. However, she contrived to do up my head, and, *entre nous*, I carried a pair of colored gloves turned inside out in my hand.

Mysore, November 23.

To-day we received an invitation from the Ranees to visit them at twelve o'clock, so I asked Mrs. C. and the other ladies to go with me. We went in state, the gentlemen in uniform, and we drove at a foot's pace, with the men bearing silver lances, and a troop of Silladars. As we drove into the courtyard, the band struck up 'God save the Queen.' Deva Parthiva, the old Raja's favourite grandson, came down to receive us, and handed me upstairs to the Ranees' apartments, where, on one side of the curtain, we found the little Raja sitting cross-legged on a chair. We salaamed, and shook hands. I thought he looked much thinner, and he seemed nervous.

The queens then requested us to go behind the curtain, which we accordingly did. I was not, however, received with the same cordiality as on my former visit, none of the queens rising, though they gave their

hands. Fatima was sulky, saying that many of the servants had been dismissed, and begged Mr. B. would allow them all to be taken on again. Then she said to me, 'Ladies understand these things better than gentlemen.' She constantly cast her eyes up to the ceiling. I told her the crops in Mysore were very fine, whilst in other parts of India famine was expected, but nothing seemed to interest her.

The old Ranee sent for the little boy, and put him on my knee. We had a little chat, he saying, 'Good morning,' in very good English, adding that he remembered seeing me before, and then he presented me with flowers and betel-nut. I saw his sister for the first time, such a pretty child! two years older than himself. I told the Ranees that they ought to have their photographs taken; but Fatima shook her head, and said that, as no men ought to look at their faces, it was impossible. We then salaamed and retired, and the little Raja handed me out, a servant walking backwards before him, and singing his praises, salaaming as he did so.

As we returned to the Residency, there was a great crowd in the streets, and one man rushed after the carriage with a petition, looking very excited; but, on the whole, the people seemed quiet and contented, and are so, notwithstanding all the reductions that have been made in the late Raja's enormous establishments, so judiciously has all been managed.

Mysore, November 29.

We went to mass in the little Catholic chapel, the congregation being almost entirely native, and those

whom I could see were very devout. The priest preached in Tamil very fluently. The natives recite litanies in a peculiar sing-song tone during the mass, which is rather distracting, and when they do sing, they shout in a most deafening manner.

Mysore, November 30.

Drove with Mrs. C. to the summer palace, which contains such a funny collection of valuable things, mixed up with rubbish, pictures, clocks, toys, plaster carts, beautiful Chinese lanterns, and Dresden glass.

Three elephants were in attendance, and Mrs. C. and myself, with Captain C., climbed up into the State howdah on the back of the largest elephant, which is over 9 feet high. We found it a very uncomfortable seat, the great creature swaying about as he walked, and nearly shaking us all out. However, we held on for dear life, and after many perils from branches, horses, and bullocks, not to mention a certain feeling of land-sickness from which we suffered, reached home safely. The trappings were magnificent, the seat of silver, the cloth scarlet, embroidered with gold, and he salaamed with his trunk in the air like a real gentleman. But he swore dreadfully at having to kneel down, and rose up once because the attendants had forgotten to place cushions under his legs, and he found the gravel walk hard for his royal knees.

We received visitors and played croquet in the evening, and went to bed as soon as we could, as we had to start early the next morning. Our camp had gone on straight from Seringapatam to Hoonsoor, our next

halt, as it was a short cut by nine miles, a consideration for a number of people who have to march with baggage. Our camp consists of about 200 persons, which is considered moderate. L. always dispenses with everything that is not necessary, it being unpopular to march an army of people through the country, as they eat up all the supplies. Lord Canning's camp, with that of the Commander-in-Chief, used to muster 15,000 souls, so, in comparison, we travel in a very small way.

Hoonsoor, December 1.

We left Mysore in one of the Raja's comfortable carriages, a salute being fired on our departure. At the end of three miles, we passed the racecourse, with its two grand stands, the scene of much merry-making in the old Raja's lifetime on the occasion of his birthday, when the races annually took place. We stopped for a few minutes at Yelwall, nine miles from Mysore, one of the Government houses, standing on high ground in a well-wooded park, in which are deer and wilder animals, at least such is the on dit.

We posted on through a very barren district, with here and there a small village, and, where water was to be had, a patch of cultivation. At ten o'clock we reached Hoonsoor, the tents being pitched round a comfortable bungalow. Tents are so hot in the middle of the day, that I always rejoice in a bungalow, but L. and Captain C. prefer grilling.

At four, all the villagers came, and, as many as could find room, went into the tents, and sat down on the

ground before L., telling him all their grievances, presenting petitions, &c.

Hoonsoor was formerly a place of some note, being a depôt of the Madras Government, and having large manufactories of military accoutrements, which employed many persons, but were given up as being expensive. It seems almost a pity, as they induced the people to learn, and they were taught many useful trades. Hoonsoor is also a great place for sandal-wood, and we went to see the depôt. On turning the corner of the street, we at once smelt the perfume of the wood, which was positively overpowering in the stores. The wood is not carved or made up here, but is almost all exported to China.

Fraserpett, December 3.

As it became light, I perceived a great difference in the aspect of the country, and we had evidently got into a moister atmosphere. We passed through a real jungle, which I thought very picturesque; but having got, as usual, half-way, into my palankin, I had, to my disgrace, a sound nap. A summons to admire the view of Fraserpett awoke me, and it was really beautiful. On the bridge over the Caverry, we were met by the inhabitants, and, after taking in a supply of oranges, lemons, and flowers, were allowed to proceed to Captain ——'s house, which he had placed at our disposal. I now noticed a change in the dwelling houses, which were more substantial, and had thickly thatched roofs. Captain ——'s was quite a cottage *orné*—perhaps *orné* is not the right term, for it looked greatly neglected, and all the nice furniture spoiled.

I had a long sleep in the afternoon, and awoke to find my 'Darby' gone out, so poor little Joan set out to find him, and walked about a mile along a very dusty high road, meeting a herd of 200 buffaloes who, like their drivers, stared with amazement at me. When the cloud they had raised cleared away, a vision of delight appeared in the person of Darby, followed by as numerous a human herd, and, oh! the ingratitude and blindness of men! Darby actually enquired why Joan was so silly (that was the phrase) as to choose a dusty high road for her evening walk, when there were lanes equalling in beauty those of far-famed Devonshire to roam in. Joan could not reply at once, her utterance being choked—with dust!

Santecoopa, December 4.

As soon as it was light, we found ourselves in a dense jungle, with no view out of it. The variety of foliage, however, and the wondrous growth of the trees were a novelty. Every moment I longed to stop the bearers to pick a new fern, or an inviting cluster of roses, or a spray of some lovely creeper. One, a white convulvulus, with crimson centre, had found its way to the topmost branches of large trees, and hung down in graceful masses, a perfect shower of flowers. The air was quite perfumed with the scent of the various blossoms. Up we went, through the wood, higher and higher, and were joined by the Soobadar of the Mercara Talook, and a number of Coorgs in their picturesque costume, with drums and horns. They marched on in front of us, singing a quaint strain, and,

now and then, blowing loud blasts of welcome on their horns till we reached Santecoopa.

We found the bungalow prettily placed on some rising ground, and the tents pitched under some large trees, and then, towards Mercara, such a view! the Abial peak, the coffee plantations, and the dense jungle beneath! I was enchanted, felt quite inspired, and tried to perpetrate a water-color sketch! It was rather like the crow's attempt to sing, and about as successful, but the motive was more praiseworthy.

Mercara, December 5, 6, 7.

Started in the palankin, L. mounted on Rex, up! up! through the wood, till we began to see over the tops of the trees, down into the vallies beneath, with peeps of distant hills. Half-way up the ghat, we were met by Captain and Mrs. C., who had very kindly driven down to meet us, he thinking that I should see the country better in an open carriage. We were joined by more Coorgs, and an orchestra of horns, drums, and fifes, in the midst of which we left L., and drove on ahead, the road being dangerous, lest the horses should take fright at the noise.

The road and scenery are very like a Swiss pass. Before reaching Mercara, we got out to see a cinchona plantation, which did not seem flourishing.

As I am not clever enough to depict Mercara in water-colors, I must try to describe it by my pen. It was a cold fresh morning, with a sharp feeling in the air, the clouds just rolling off the highest peaks of the distant mountains, which looked very blue, while the

near hills were intensely green with coffee plantations. The coffee tree is a bunchy green shrub, with scarlet berries, and a blossom so white, that Captain C. says that, at the flowering season, the country looks as if covered with snow. There were deep jungly vallies between us and the mountains far away, and, on the height on which we stood, a fort, a palace, eastern tombs, a thatched town snug in a hollow, and sundry villas dotted here and there in cosy places. There was a foreground of Coorgs in white or blue coats, scarlet scarfs round the waist, silver daggers and chains, and a large knife fastened in a belt on their backs, and used to force their way through the jungles. They were fine tall fellows, with olive complexions. Captain C. introduced me to the leading officials, who presented fruits and flowers, and then we drove on to Captain T.'s house, which is romantically situated, looking down into a deep valley with the Mangalore and Cannanore ghat-roads winding beneath, the grand Brahmagiri range to the south, and Swami Betta and Tadiandamol to the west. We dined with Captain and Mrs. C., and I had my first drive in a bullock-coach, escorted by not less than twenty torches, enough to set all Mercara on fire, the sparks flying about in the wind in every direction; indeed, we heard next day that there had been a fire in the soldiers' lines, originated, some people said, by our torches.

Next day, all the Coorgs came up in a body, headed by the head Serishtadar, a fine-looking old fellow, and they sat down on the floor of a long glazed verandah in front of the house, and had a discussion with L. about their affairs.

In the afternoon Captain and Mrs. C. took us in their carriage to the tombs of the Rajas of Coorg, handsome buildings with gilt minarets. It is noteworthy that, inside, the stones above the graves of Dodda Virrajendra and Lingarajendra and their two wives are in the shape of a cross. The tombs were covered with flowers, a light was burning, and an attendant came out to present us with fruit. We did not go inside, but looked through the door. Some of the carvings about the buildings are very rich. The two tombs are exactly alike, a third building being a sort of sanctuary, in which the god Shiva is supposed to reside.

The Coorgs themselves do not believe in Shiva, and have no temples, but have a great respect for the god Pan, and the goddess of the Cavery river. They are very superstitious, and believe in wood demons, spirits, &c., and, except at certain seasons of the year, will not enter parts of the forest. Amongst the upper classes there are no conversions to Christianity, and although the children attend the Government schools, the slightest interference in religious matters would be resented at once, so in all the schools it is forbidden.

The Catholic missionaries have a school, not under Government, and after school-hours they give religious instruction to those who like to remain, but only the low castes ever venture to do so. It seems a sad state of things. We can educate them as much as we like, and many of the higher officials are clever and refined in manners, but we cannot convert them.

On the 7th I saw all over the fort, and went into

the rooms formerly occupied by Mr. K. when he was Superintendent. All the Coorgs ask after him with respect and affection, for they say they never had such a Superintendent. Troops now occupy the palace. Horrible stories are told of the cruelty of the last of the Coorg Rajas, a man who ended his days in England. It is said that he used to sit in a bow-window in the palace, and make people run across from the entrance to a stone elephant in the courtyard while he shot at them! In this way he killed all his relations but one sister, who escaped, and is still living. Certainly the Coorgs are much happier under our rule, and they are very loyal.

I expressed a wish to see some Coorg ladies, so one of the head men brought his wife and cousin to see me. They came thickly veiled, but uncovered their faces when in the drawing-room. They were fine young women, with large eyes, and were not very dark. Their hair was worn *en chignon*, only they had splendid gold ornaments on it, and bunches of white flowers. They wore white jackets with short sleeves, embroidered with red cotton, white muslin skirts, embroidered with a narrow gold lace, and very short. Their legs and feet were bare, and round their ankles they had massive silver bands, from which hung a number of little bells, with a silver chain from the band to each toe, held on a number of rings. Their arms were covered with bracelets, and round their necks hung a number of gold chains with jewel ornaments. L. was allowed to be present, but they were very shy. They showed me some work, a sort of fine

embroidery, which they were doing, and with which they ornament their husbands' clothes. They also brought with them all their ornaments, and I showed them my Roman necklace, which is not very unlike what they wear, and it amused them.

In the afternoon, in honor of our visit, all the Coorgs assembled, to the number of 400 and upwards, and had a national dance in front of the old palace in the fort. We drove at a foot's pace, for the crowd round the carriage was so great that it was impossible to go quicker. They went, dancing and singing, in front of us all the way up to the fort, with drums and horns and war shouts. Such a row! I thought every moment the horses would take fright, and be off. All the English had assembled at the front windows of the palace, but we remained below in the courtyard, where we had a better view, and of course it pleased the people to see us among them.

About 200 Coorgs formed into a circle. The first figure of the dance was called Balakata, and was a slow movement, the men all dancing round, singing, and waving about gracefully chowrees (long whisks of hair like horses' tails), with an accompaniment of drums. This was followed by the second figure, called Kolhata, or stick dance, in which each man was provided with a couple of sticks, just like those used at 'La Grace.' They all moved round as before, beginning slowly, with a sort of prancing step, which got quicker and quicker. They kept tapping their neighbours' sticks in time, getting more and more excited, and hitting harder, as if they were going to have a fight, but at a

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given signal they all instantly stopped. The third figure consisted of a single combat. One man leaped into the circle with a war-whoop, armed with a long switch and a metal shield, challenging the ring. Then out sprang another, and away both danced. At last they rushed together, hitting as hard as they could. The laws of the game do not allow hitting above the knees, although some, in their excitement, certainly transgressed. The ankles, however, suffered most, and must have smarted terribly after an encounter. When one of the combatants gave in, the other embraced him, to show there was no ill-will. At the end of the third figure, the assembly had a grand flourish, dancing about, and leaping vigorously into the air. The entertainment was brought to a close by wrestling for coconuts, the victors coming forward and breaking them open before us.

They then formed into a long line, through which we passed to the carriage. Nothing could have been more orderly than the whole proceeding, nor more respectful than the manner of the people as they followed the carriage out of the fort and up the road. L. stopped and made them a little speech, after which they dispersed. Hundreds of people had assembled to witness the dance, and I shall never forget the scene. The old fort, the picturesque crowd, the fine men in their striking costume, and the graceful manner in which they danced. L. says it is quite unique, and that there is nothing like it in any other part of India.

Good night, and good-bye to Mercara! We were not sorry to leave for one reason. The cold was

making itself felt. Many of the camp were down with fever, and most of our servants had been drinking to keep out the cold, fighting being the result.

Jumboor Báné, December 8.

What a cold morning it was! How the wind howled as I dressed by candlelight, and put on every wrap I could find! Captain C. drove me half-way, over such a road, twisting about, with frightful precipices and glorious views. I shall not soon forget the sensations of that drive. We passed great coffee plantations, and at last reached a valley and a river where we said good-bye to Captain C. I was carried across the river in my palankin, and then through a dense jungle wood, till I reached Jumboor Báné. The encamping ground was very picturesque, just like a park, with a fine view of lofty hills. A tiger had been in possession, I was told, when the tents came up in the early morning, but had disappeared in the jungle.

Somawarpett, December 9.

Left Jumboor by a very steep descent, the road lying through a dense jungle, where it was impossible to get any view, but the wild luxuriance of the vegetation, and the number and variety of the birds, made the ride very interesting. We encamped on some high ground, commanding a splendid view. The town is very clean, and the houses look more substantial and larger than most native habitations. We walked through the place in the evening, to the amusement of the population.

Saniwarsanté, December 10.

About three miles from Somawarpett we came to a bridge, in the centre of which the natives had erected a very tasteful little arch of flowers, and, on the other side, we found quite a crowd awaiting us with State umbrellas, horns, tomtoms, lances, &c., a regular turnout. They wanted to adorn Fritz with a wreath of flowers, but he decidedly objected to the delicate attention. Tsar, however, quite approved, and stood quietly while he was beautified. In England people send their carriages to walk in procession, but in this part of India it is the custom to send your umbrellas, though only certain persons are privileged to use them. These are called Potails; of whom there are seventeen in this district, one of them having a right to have two lighted torches carried before him as a mark of precedence. No less than nine umbrellas, and the torches, were in attendance to do us honour. The umbrellas are of crimson silk, with gold fringes, or are red and white, of a large size. English horses would be terrified at them and the tomtoms, but Arabs do not seem to object to the display which accompanied us to the end of the march. As it is meant as a compliment, one cannot dismiss the people, but it is very tiresome, as one must go at a foot's pace, and the noise, after a time, becomes wearisome.

During the march we got off our horses, and climbed to the top of the Moree Betta, to see some curious structures, very like our European cromlechs. There are no less than fifty of these odd buildings at the top of the hill. The natives say that anchorites dwelt in

them, but L. doubts this, as there are no signs of smoke on the roofs ; but, if they were burial-places, it is strange that no skeletons, or jars containing ashes, have been found in them. Only a few pots, of a form not now in use, were found, with some rusty implements. Some of the pots we have in our house at Bangalore, the rest being in the Museum.

Sukrawarsante, December 11.

I decided on using the bullock-coach, and started most comfortably, but the bullocks were quite wild, and, after the most erratic movements, finally bolted into a ditch, where we stuck fast ! I begged by signs to be left where I was, and when Marie came up in our own bullock-coach I got in with her, and jolted on safely to Kodlipett. Here I found the people had turned out, so I put my head out of the window, salaamed, and received a donation of fruit and sticky sugar-candy. Making an interpreter of one of my servants, I thanked the people, telling them how much I admired their country, and hoping they would have fine crops, to which they replied that they were very glad to see me. I noticed that the women and children were very pretty, the young ones being quite fair, but their clothing was scanty up to the age of seven or so, a few silver ornaments round the neck and waist being considered sufficient.

Soon after leaving Kodlipett, I got into the palankin for the rest of the march, and went fast asleep, slumbering till we reached Sookrawarsanté, where the tents were pitched on the side of a hill, with a very pretty

view. Captain C. had an adventure with a tiger the last time he was here, but it made its escape from the party of gentlemen who had turned out to kill it.

Saklaspoor, December 12, 13.

A very pretty march, chiefly over downs, along a woody winding lane, like those of Devonshire. I rode Fritz, wrapped in my Chuddur shawl till we reached Oogahalli, where a Mr. L. has a house and a large coffee plantation, from which there is a superb view over Manjerebad. We remained a few minutes in admiration, and a mile farther on passed the fort of Manjerebad, built by Tippoo, who called the country 'The Misty,' from its being shrouded in mist during his visit. The fort is perched on the top of a precipitous rocky hill, and, as a matter of course, L. went scrambling up to the top. I completed my journey, and found a very comfortable bungalow, and signs of civilisation.

We halted here for Sunday, General —— and his son, who have taken to coffee planting, came in from some distance to lunch. He is called 'The Harmonious Blacksmith,' because he can play a sonata, and shoe a horse. He was very chatty. In the afternoon, a man brought me a wild leopard cat, which he called a young tiger. I made a present of it to Marie, who tied it up to the door of the tent.

Belgode, December 14.

Awoke this morning with the dripping of the dew from our tent, the fog being white and dense. However, off we started, I well wrapped up, with my shawl

over my head, and just my eyes peeping out. The bridge over the Hemawati not being completed, we had to ford it, but the mist was so thick that we could not see the other side, and the stream was so deep in the middle that it was up to the horses' girths. Fritz and Tsar went very steadily through, but Rex did not like his cold bath, I suppose, for he began to dance about and plunge in a disorderly manner, so Captain C., who was riding him, went ahead and soon disappeared in the mist. On our reaching Belgode, he had not arrived, which made us anxious, but we found he had paid a visit to a planter friend, and he joined us at breakfast.

The ride was charming, through lovely woods, and our tent was pitched under a giant tree. In the evening we walked out to the jungle, but, coming upon a human skull in the wood, I felt quite disconcerted, and we turned back to the tents. The owls and bats made a great noise in the tree all night, and kept sweeping down upon the tent.

Beloor, December 15.

At Lukhoonda the road, after passing through woods, opened out. The rice fields are here cultivated in terraces on the sides of the hills under tanks, and at certain seasons are kept under water. My bearers had made a short cut, which proved a longer way, and L. having sent back a man on horseback to know why I was so long in coming, my bearers began running, and I was nearly shaken into a mummy.

I shall never forget the view on entering Beloor. It

was most lovely. Green rice-crops, sloping down to the edge of the tank, a fine sheet of blue water, surrounded by large trees, above which appeared the grey walls of the fortress, and the white dome and towers of the famous temple—beyond, the Bababoodun mountains looking purple and blue ; in the foreground, the procession come out to greet us, the people in white dresses, scarlet turbans, and scarlet uniforms ; a camel, with blue trappings and a big drum on his back ; and a crowd, one mass of gay color, moving along the road, while women, in their bright clothes, were descending the stone steps of the tank, with large brass vessels on their heads. It was, altogether, as beautiful a sight as anything I have seen.

Arrived at the bungalow, we found Captain H., the district officer, and his wife, encamped close by. After breakfast she spent the day with me. I found her very agreeable, and she had two lovely children with her.

In the cool of the evening, we walked to the temple. All the natives turned out to stare, and the road was lined with spectators as soon as we entered the fort. The temple is really very striking, and the carving as wonderful in its way as anything in Europe, only, instead of saints and angels, you have elephants, war-chariots, monkey-faced gods, and hideous monsters. Certainly, there is something very degrading in Pagan art. One of the idols, a huge lion, was visible in a large shed on one side of the building. We were not allowed to go inside, and, in fact, the doors were locked. The temple is said to be 700 years old.

Halibede, December 16.

We passed through a long range of hills covered with jungle, and said to be infested by tigers, but without seeing the whisk of the tail of one even. I suppose we were too large a party, as we heard that a man was killed a little while ago by one on the road, while trying to defend his bullocks.

We found our tents pitched under some fine trees close to the temple, which we went to see after breakfast. We carefully examined the carvings, which are considered finer than those at Beloor, though in the same style. The side chapels contain two gigantic bulls, which are held sacred. There is a fine lake close under the walls of the temple, and the view across it to the hills beyond is very picturesque. There was a fierce sun and a cold wind, and we were not sorry to regain our tents.

Halibede was formerly, no doubt, a very extensive place, but now it has a neglected poverty-stricken appearance. It is probable that much of the destruction was caused hundreds of years ago by the Musalmans, who sacked the place, and were it not for the grand old temple, nothing would indicate its having been the abode of the powerful Rajas who ruled over the west and south of Mysore. In the evening, we walked to the ancient Jain temples, some way from the town, supposed to be 700 years old. The exterior carvings are not so fine as those of the Hindoo temples, but they are more striking, and we were allowed to peep in. Lamps were burning before a great statue carved in black stone. There was much dignity in the figure,

which was as high as the temple itself. Having visited two of these curious buildings, we walked to the third, but the people said that a leopard had taken up his abode in it, so we only walked round it, and got our legs well pricked by the spear grass, a really painful infliction.

Benkipoor, December 22.

A very pretty ride to-day, over an excellent road, so we went fast. Our route lay through jungle, but we did not see even a wild antelope, L. thinking that the scarlet uniforms of the Silladars who accompanied us frightened everything out of sight.

The bungalow is close to the Bhudra, which is a fine river, as wide as the Thames at Richmond, and spanned by a handsome stone bridge. As it was still cool, and the rushing of the clear waters over the rocks gave a refreshing sound, I strolled down to the bed of the river, and seeing how lovely was the view of the Babā Boodun hills, looked about for a snug corner to sketch from, when the voice of the butler above informed me there were plenty of alligators in the river. I did make a sketch, but from the safer ground near the bungalow, not desiring an encounter with a crocodile. In the evening, we walked to the bridge, from which we had a most enchanting view of the sunset, and I felt quite savage with myself for my inability to do justice to its glories on paper.

Shimoga, December 23-27.

Away early, by torchlight, in such a thick mist that we could see nothing of the country. We passed a temple on the road, and the people rushed out with fruits, and threw flowers into the carriage. On reaching Shimoga, we found that great preparations had been made, two arches of evergreens having been erected on the long bridge over the Toonga river, and the regiment of Silladars was drawn up a mile from the town, so that it was quite a gay sight.

L. rode on with Major H. and Mr. C. at a foot's pace, so I passed them in the carriage, and went on to the former's house, a fine large one, about a mile and a half from the town, having a glorious view of the Baba Boodun hills and the Kulus Peak. As the mist cleared away, it was like the rising of a curtain at a play, and as I had no idea there was any view from the house, it was a most agreeable surprise.

We had a very pleasant visit. Major H. is a very clever man, and his wife is charming. She married at eighteen, and has four children, of whom two are in England. She has one lovely little girl called Chickie. C. is a great sportsman. On Saturday he heard of a bear, and went after it, promising to bring it in to show the children, who were all assembled for a Christmas party, and before evening he returned with two baby bears, having killed their mother, which was brought in next morning. He has killed thirty-five tigers, and fifty bears, not to mention other game, so I think he is a public benefactor. Mrs. C. used to be in a perpetual state of alarm, but now, she says, she is

hardened to it. He is going this evening to a wood near here, where a tiger has been killing cattle, and a bullock has been tied up to a tree, as a bait, poor beast!

I drove with Mrs. H. to *the* shop of the place, and we bought up everything in the shape of a toy to be had; but there were nothing but penny toys, which they sold for two shillings. However, we got enough to fill a bran pie for Chickie's party.

On Christmas Day, we went to seven o'clock mass, the congregation, numbering 500, being purely native. The chapel is small, in the form of a cross, but the scene was very edifying. The men of high caste knelt on the right, the women on the left. The dress of the latter, which, I am told, was introduced by St. Francis Xavier, was very neat, a fine white cloth, sometimes edged with lace over the head, and tied in at the waist, descending to the feet, rather like a shroud. They spread a colored handkerchief on the ground to kneel on, and kept the face concealed, all but the eyes. This costume is only worn in church. One or two of the children were remarkably pretty, and covered with ornaments. The low castes knelt behind us in the centre of the church. The men took off their turbans, and have their heads shaved, except a long tuft of hair on the back of the head. Some of them were very fine looking men, and not very dark. They chant out the prayers all during mass, except at the Elevation, when a little band struck up the only tune it *thought* it could play, and which nearly upset my gravity. It was 'God

save the Queen.' The 'Adeste Fideles' was also sung, but it was not much like the beautiful melody we used to hear in Farm Street. We received Holy Communion, and I thought of all in England, as, I have no doubt, you all thought of us a little later.

Of course all the station dined in their best attire at Major H.'s that evening. Mrs. H. looked very pretty in a black net dress, embroidered with white floss, very *distinguée*, with scarlet flowers. Mrs. B. wore her violet satin, her boddice adorned with a jet necklace, which Mr. B., who has a taste of his own, considered too like mourning for a time of rejoicing, though he told her confidentially that he admired her toilette very much. Another lady wore a blue silk, trimmed with an Isle-of-Wight-lace tunic and a gold tiara, and a fourth appeared in her wedding dress of plain white silk, with fair hair and blushes for personal ornaments. Mrs. —, bored at finding herself compelled to live in Shimoga, did not trouble herself to dress her fair locks, but appeared as she rose from her couch, rough as a terrier dog. Being at heart a dear little woman, she cheered up in the genial company, and forgot the four wee children the dear woman had left in the shoe, so worried she did not know what to do. She became the life of the party, and distinguished herself by valiantly killing a scorpion during the absence of the gentlemen, putting her dainty little foot upon it amidst general applause. Then Mrs. — played the 'Silver Trumpets' so exquisitely that Mrs. B. fancied herself once more in the

Eternal City under the great dome, in presence of ——. This was followed by songs, and then more than one person was observed to yawn, and the party separated after a chorus from the Christy Minstrels.

Coompsee, December 24.

Instead of returning to Bangalore, as originally planned, I have come on with the camp, as everyone said it was a great pity to be within sixty miles of the finest waterfalls in the world, and not to see them.

I am writing in L.'s tent. It is blowing a gale of wind, and we have just had the tent-ropes tightened. The rapid changes of climate in Mysore make the country very trying, and the only way to meet the difficulty and counteract bad effects is to pay great attention to clothing. In the morning, from six to nine o'clock, I can comfortably wear warm woollen stockings, flannel vest, a petticoat, and my wadded velvet jacket. Before breakfast I bathe, and then dispense with several of these articles; and at three, when I take my siesta, I am glad to throw off as much clothing as is compatible with propriety. But, before starting for my evening walk, I wrap myself up again, though not so extensively as in the early morning.

We found the old fort of Coompsee in a very ruinous and filthy condition, uninhabited, and doubtless deserted because it is unhealthy, as it well may be with a moat of stagnant water; and I should have left the place with an unpleasing impression had we not found the town itself very neat and clean. The verandahs in front of the houses are generally painted with broad

white and red stripes, and bamboos had been put up here and there, from which they suspended strings of leaves—a simple style of decoration in honor of L.'s visit.

Anantpoor, December 29.

As Mr. C. is coming to the Falls on purpose to drive me, so he says, I was of course consigned to his care ; but when it was daylight he gave the reins over to me, and I felt much less nervous driving myself, though it was so cold that my hands were quite benumbed.

The road was very pretty, running through jungle, with a peep, from time to time, of the distant country. The jungle was high, beautiful graceful clumps of bamboos meeting over our heads, and forming natural arches across the road. The latter part of the drive was through a splendid avenue of Dhoopada trees for at least three miles, up to the bungalow ; and so lovely was the avenue, that to see it was worth the whole journey. The Dhoopada is a giant, with large deep-green leaves and round foliage, with perfectly scarlet masses here and there—not of flowers, but of leaves just turning. The whole way down the avenue the Amildar had put up bamboos, with strings of green leaves and scarlet flowers across the road, which added to the general effect. All the town had turned out, and we found a great crowd, with a deafening concert of tomtoms, at least half-a-mile from the refuge of the bungalow.

We had a scorching sun and high wind all day rendering the tents unbearable. About three o'clock

L. saw the people of the place, who assembled by hundreds, and heard all they had to say. Many, however, remained squatted near the tents after the rest had gone, waiting to waylay us when we strolled out in the evening, either for the pleasure of staring at us, or to present petitions. There is one peculiarity about the natives, namely, that they never consider a decision as final, and will go on appealing for years. Hundreds of petitions are sent in about matters that have been finally settled years before; and some petitioners have followed us about the whole of this tour, turning up wherever we go, with the old story.

I walked with L. to the old fort, to see a big gun, which had, however, been blown up. The fort is a picturesque ruin, and as we turned to leave it the scene was very striking. On one side the sun was setting in golden glory over the grass-grown walls, and at the same moment the full moon was rising in silvery beauty in a cold blue sky, reflected in a large sheet of water. Altogether it was a lovely scene.

We returned through the town, followed by a large crowd, who were kept at a distance with difficulty. Even the animals seemed astonished at a blue petticoat, and buffaloes and dogs appeared eager for an onslaught.

Saugor, December 30.

Started by moonlight. I drove all the way, directly it was light. The road ran through a jungle of wondrous foliage, and there was an interesting variety of birds—hundreds of small green parrots with long

sweeping tails, jungle fowls, jays, paddy birds, and large vultures of different kinds—all looking up their morning meal. We passed a second beautiful avenue of the Dhoopada trees, and found our tents pitched on some rising ground; but it was very hot all day. This is a great place for sandal-wood carvings, and the people brought up some pretty specimens, and presented me with a flower carved in sandal-wood, which, however, I was not allowed to accept. I ordered a plain box for my valuable lace—a thing I really wanted.

A native, who is to accompany L. through the wild country, called, and I was introduced to him. He was a Jain, and a man of property, but had somewhat the air of a savage in his appearance, having nothing on but a linen cloth about his loins, and a green cloth jacket, the worse for wear. Of course I smiled and salaamed, and he left some sugar-canes and sweetmeats. One kind of sweetmeat is very good. It is called ‘hulwá,’ and is made of camel’s milk and almonds, and is brought by native boats from Arabia.

Talgoopa, December 31.

On our road, we passed a dead bullock by the way-side, upon which at least fifty large vultures were feasting. We met large droves of bullocks and buffaloes coming from the coast, laden with sacks of salt and fish; while, on returning, they carry on their backs grain for exportation to the famine-stricken provinces; so that, although the crops were splendid this year in Mysore, prices are expected to be as high as ever.

The view from the new bungalow at Talgoopa is very picturesque. It stands on the top of a rocky hill, looking over a large sheet of water, a deep blue lake in the morning light, on which floated quantities of large white and scarlet water-lilies, with their large green leaves, the red earth of the road, the grey rocks, and the varied shades of green in the dense woods beyond forming an effective contrast; while, in the far distance, the hill ranges near the Gairsoppa Falls peeped out in hazy indistinctness. I spent all the morning in trying to make a sketch, which I pronounced to be a daub. Mr. C. said he would sit and do duty as a foreground. He came, and sat near me, bewailing his hard fate—only twenty-six, and wanting to go home dreadfully, but not being able to accomplish it. The bright side of the picture is that he is one of the most fortunate men in the Commission—with a good appointment, a very pretty wife, and fine children.

Gairsoppa, January 1, 1869.

The Ghát road is a zigzag like the St. Gothard pass on the Italian side, and when we reached it the view was so beautiful down into the valley that I was persuaded to remain in the carriage; and as we walked the horses, with the horse-boys at their heads, there was no danger. Once I was obliged to get out, a bridge over a brook having been made with nothing but a few sticks, and mud plastered over them, and it was so insecure that it bent with the weight of the carriage.

We are now in the Bombay Presidency, out of L.'s

jurisdiction, but the other side of the river belongs to Mysore. We found a very dirty, tumble-down bungalow, with a few tables and chairs, all ailing, the wood being so dense that it was difficult to pitch a tent.

As soon as L. came up, we proceeded to the Falls, the platform on which the bungalow stands being so high that nothing could be seen beyond the river and the wood, but a mighty roar of unseen waters prepared us for what we were to see.

After following a steep descending path through the wood, we came upon some enormous boulders of rock which, during the rainy season, are covered with water, and, scrambling over these for a few yards, found ourselves at the edge of the fearful abyss. I crawled on my hands and knees, L. holding me, and looked over a sheer drop of 820 feet! the waters rushing over to the left of where I lay. Hundreds of pigeons were flying in and out of the clefts in the rocks. It was a fearful precipice to look over, and yet there was a sort of fascination about it. There is not much water now in the river, but one can imagine what it must be in great floods. The people say that the spray is then so great that the pool at the bottom cannot be discerned. There are four Falls, all from the same level, the largest being called the Raja, the next the Roarer, the third the Rocket, and the last the Dame Blanche, but in great floods they are united in one grand stream.

After leaving the rocks, we walked through the wood to a platform a little below the Falls, a rather rough affair made of only a few planks fastened to some trees. From this, you only see the two latter

Falls, but they are certainly wonderfully beautiful in their graceful shoot from the rocks, and the height inspires you with an irresistible feeling of awe. After a few minutes spent in silent admiration, we climbed up again to the bungalow, and enjoyed our breakfast in the verandah, although it was rather a windy repast.

In the cool of the evening, we again descended to the Falls, and peeped once more over the yawning abyss, the gentlemen being very rash, and making me quite nervous by standing so near the edge. We afterwards crossed the Raja fall, a few yards above the actual descent of water, on a rough bridge made of a few logs of trees tied together with bamboos. It was giddy work, but I did not feel afraid, and we then climbed the rocks between the Raja and the Roarer Falls, and, going on our hands and knees, looked over. The view looking down the ravine, with the sunset lights on the hills beyond, was perfectly beautiful, and quite repaid us for the fatigue.

January 2, 3.

Descending through the wood the next morning, we crossed the river above the Falls, scrambling over the great boulders of slippery rocks, which even the gentlemen said was hard work. When we reached the final bridge above the Roarer, my courage gave way, and I declared I could not cross, but, after saying an 'Ave,' I took L.'s hand, and on we went together. There was no real danger, but it looked so very perilous, and the roar of the waters shook one's nerves.

The palankin had been ordered to meet me across the river higher up, but it was not there, so I had to walk, which, as it was cool and shady, was no great exertion.

Mr. C. went out to shoot bison, but returned unsuccessful, though he captured a baby bison, a few days old. It was a good size and made a great row, crying after its mammy, and, although two buffaloes were secured for its maintenance, it refused to be comforted.

We spent all Sunday at the Falls, but how could it be to me a happy day, with the prospect of L. leaving me the next day! I was very miserable, and not at all well, the exertion of the day before having been too much for me, as exposure under an Indian sun tells at once. I was feverish and weak, and L. gave me some quinine. The previous evening, fireworks and torches were flung over the Falls, and the effect was, I believe, beautiful, but I became so faint just as we were starting to descend through the wood, that I had to be dosed with brandy, and L. would not let me go.

We had a great deal to arrange, as carts could not proceed farther, and the camp was divided, bullocks being hired to convey L.'s tents, and coolies to carry provisions, and as there is a difficulty in procuring food in the mulnad, everything eatable that could be spared had to be sent with him. 'Green Jacket,' the native who was to show L. the way, came to see me with his son, and brought me honey tied up in plantain leaves, but, as we could not understand one another's language, an amusing dumb show followed, he salaaming and I smiling alternately.

Tulgoopa, January 4.

L. walked down with me through the wood, and confided me to the care of the other gentlemen, placing me in the mail phaeton, with a warm eider-down quilt over my knees, for, in the deep jungles, it is bitterly cold when the sun does not penetrate them. Good bye! kissing of hands! handkerchiefs waving (and used!), and away we go up the ghat, with such a view of the valley and Falls, but I only saw it through very dim glasses, and it was hard work to wring from me a note of admiration that morning.

At Talgoopa, a native came up to the bungalow with the skin of a tiger he had shot, on which Mr. C. gave him the usual reward, and presented me with the skin and the claws. His room in the bungalow presented a curious scene, office tables, with piles of papers, being in one corner, the young bison in another, and, as a centre piece, the buffalo, which had been got in to keep the little savage quiet. Its piteous cries made it impossible for me to enjoy my siesta.

The weather has become much hotter, and the air in the evening feels like that of an exotic conservatory. The gentlemen drank milk punch, and grumbled at their lot, in having to pass the best part of their lives in India, while my thoughts wandered over the distant hills to a little tent somewhere, with somebody in it, all alone.

Saugor, January 5.

I am getting quite a crack whip, and drove all the way. After breakfast, the people came with sandal-wood carvings, but everything was very expensive—one box being 30*l.*, and nothing less than 6*l.* It was so hot that when I went to the tent to wash my hands for lunch, it was like an oven, and the towels were quite hot.

Anantpoor, January 6.

Enjoyed another hot day, which is, however, far preferable to the cold east wind, which dries and chafes the skin like frost in England.

We arranged to go a double march to-morrow. I went for a walk, and the air was scented with sweet-smelling creepers. Captain C. rode Fritz, who is so handsome. What a sensation he would create in *the Row*! Small head and ears, wide distended red nostrils, with a long tail just escaping the ground, which he carries like a plume.

Shimoga, January 7.

Such a disturbed morning, and no sleep after three o'clock; dogs barking, horses neighing, and men chattering all round the tent; so I got up, and started at five in the palankin. At the seventh milestone, Mr. C. put me into the mail phaeton, and we nearly had a bad accident. Going down a steep hill, Ruby made a snap at Topaz, and the latter kicked over the bar and Ruby's trace. I thought he must come down on the stony road, and I jumped out; but the horse-boys

stopped the horses, and, with the aid of a Silladar, the harness was undone, and Topaz extricated from his difficulty. No harm was done, except that one of the horse-boys was bitten in the arm.

I was so lazy the next day. The first thing I heard was that Major H. and Mr. C. had gone after a tiger, which turned out to be a panther. He came out of the jungle, when Mr. C. fired from a tree, and the animal fell. They got down, thinking it was dead, when it jumped up, and sprang back into the jungle, but charging out again, sprang upon one of the beaters, clawing his head and throat. Major H. thought the man was killed, but the panther again retreated into the jungle, and the man was saved, and brought into the hospital. Natives are very superstitious, and frequently die when bitten by wild animals from fright, and a conviction that they cannot recover. Major H. related to us how all the camp followers, and the friends of the man had crowded round him, saying, 'Your hearth (cooking place, literally) will be desolate! your wife a widow! and your children orphans! You are indeed a man dead!' Major H. boxed one man's ears, but could not help saying that their expressions were very sympathetic. The mother came, and flung herself at his feet, poor thing! The people insisted on his walking between yellow water and black water, a superstitious practice supposed to be beneficial. The poor fellow died, however, and his hearth is indeed desolate.

Bangalore, January 18.

I was so dreading the long journey into Bangalore by myself, when I learnt that Mr. M. was also going in, so that, if anything should happen, he can pick up the pieces. I was really sorry to say, 'Good-bye,' and pretty Mrs. C. looked half envious, as going into Bangalore from the districts is looked upon in the light of a trip to Paris, or a run up to town in England. Well! off we went at last, a motley procession—*Dignity*, in the person of a mounted Silladar, followed by *Necessity*—that is, two torch-bearers in birthday suits—and *Discomfort*, personified by three bullock-coaches. As soon as we were fairly out of the gates, I proceeded to undress, and then began our troubles. The road was not good, and the coach jolted and swayed to and fro in an eccentric manner, so that being at sea was nothing to it, but, alas! there was no steward to bring the needful. I lit my lamp, and tried to read, as we crept slowly up the hills, but oh! the descents! Three men, who ran by the side of the bullocks to keep them on the road, shouted, twisted their tails, and poked them with sticks, the Jehu flogged, and away they tore, full gallop, regardless of everything. It was trying to one's nerves, and the more so, as, if anything did happen, there was nothing for it but to turn out in nightgown and bare feet. After fourteen hours of this misery, we reached Cadoor. Half the night we travelled through jungles, which were all on fire in parts, and they lighted up the sky, while the flames roared like a waterfall. No doubt, the fires were miles off, but they seemed so near that they terrified me.

I don't think I ever enjoyed a cup of tea so much in my life as I did the one given me on arriving at Cadoor. After dinner, we started again for another fourteen hours. The road was worse than the day before, and in the middle of the night I was so worn out that I nearly fainted. On reaching Tipatoor I was dead beat, but the bungalow was a miserable place, and Mr. M. begged me to go on to Toomkoor, so away we went again, such a wearying journey, and sleep impossible. At last, I slept from sheer exhaustion, and awoke to find myself before a palatial residence ; and you may imagine how glad I was to find myself in a comfortable bed in a large airy room.

We left the kindly shelter and friendly house of Mr. and Mrs. P. in their carriage drawn by bullocks, and at Nellamungalum my own carriage met me, and, after dinner, I drove into Bangalore.

I am now all right again, Dr. O. having come to see me, and laughed at my bullock-coach experience.

Bangalore, February.

I am very glad we are to run away from the heat this year, for it is setting in early, but Nundidroog, where we are going, must be very much like being on board ship, the space on its summit being so very limited.

All the boxes have arrived at last safely, and nothing is spoilt. I laughed at the remarks attached to each article, but you made a great omission in not telling me which is the front and which the back of the bonnet and the toilettes, all very puzzling to us in these re-

mote regions. The photograph of the Princess of Wales, with her boy on her back, is charming.

Marie is gone to the marriage of Mrs. C.'s nurse, who has deserted her mistress for a gunner in the artillery. M. holds herself high, and said she should see what company she was to be in before she decided to go on to the *dejeuner*. She was greatly pleased at L.'s giving her the carriage, in which she has just driven away, very neatly dressed, the Arabs prancing, and two running horse-boys in scarlet and white, so she will create quite a sensation, and, perhaps, be taken for the bride.

I was up at six, and took a nice ride this morning. Fritz was so fresh, and seemed to think it was a lark to have such a light weight on his back, instead of the heavy Sowar galloping him round the compound, so he danced and frisked about, while Tsar looked at him complacently, as much as to say, 'What a foolish prig you are! see how well I behave!' I really do believe Arabs almost talk.

Nundidroog, February 21.

We were off at five in the light office-carriage, with the little Arabs, the bullock-coach following with the rattletraps. It was quite dark, and the stars did little to enlighten our way, so we had flaming torches, and a very nasty smell as the consequence, till the sun rose, a blood-red ball, behind some hills in the distance. The country was very wild for miles, with gigantic boulders of rocks, tossed about here and there, but, after a time, the soil began to look more fertile, and

the little Arabs stepped out famously, coming in quite fresh at the first station, eight miles. Here Black Prince and Erebus took their place, but the former became alarmed at the tomtoms, which the people had brought out, and no sooner was he in the carriage than he began a series of plunges, refusing to go on. At last, with some persuasion, he went off with a rush, which was very trying to my nerves, and continued very cheerful for the rest of the stage, which was very inconsiderate, as the road seemed to me to be constantly on tank embankments, or, in other words, on the top of a wall, and, of course, we met some gipsy tribes just in the most awkward place, with herds of cattle and donkies, bearing small stacks of wood. However, we reached Devanhalli safe, and changed horses, Gay and Melbourne bringing us on to the foot of the Droog. We left the high road, and came along a cross-country track, which was very sandy.

At the bottom of the hill I got into a tonjon, or chair, L. walking up a precipitous flight of steps from the plain to the top of the Droog. The view from the bottom is wonderful, the great rocky mountain rising in a precipitous manner, and its gigantic sides looking ready to fall and crush you. It is a natural fortress, and its strength has been increased by a double wall and bastions, wherever it was capable of ascent, so as to render it quite impregnable. All this time the sun has been getting up, and is blazing, so I was grateful for a hood over the tonjon, from which hangs a scarlet cloth. Eight men lift the pole on their shoulders with a sort of whoop, and, shouting and singing at the

top of their voices, away they go. It was a fine study of the human form divine, as they only sported turbans and fig leaves. They went very fast, only stopping to change men from time to time, one man seeming to command the others, and slapping them all round in turns. Here and there we went short cuts, and did the four miles in an hour and a half, very good going, considering the steepness of the ascent, and as we got higher and higher, the air became cooler and cooler. We passed within the two walls, and leaving a pretty woody hollow on the right, arrived at the highest plateau, with the great grey house in front of us. It is fully exposed to the powers of the air, is very substantially built, and is very handsome, having cost Sir M. C. 4,000*l*. We were told it was all so clean! whereas it was deep in dust, the accumulation of years, all the bedding was dropping to pieces, as also the furniture, and everything was in its wrong place. It was an amusement getting it all in order, but the servants object to the Droog entirely, owing to the cold, so there was a general distribution of blankets and coats, but they sit curled up, looking like martyrs, and shiver with great effect whenever I look at them. The thermometer was 62° this morning in doors, while at Bangalore it was 87°.

The rock falls away precipitously from the house, and looking over the wall down on the plain below, you have a grand view. Near the house there is a little postern gate, whence there is a lovely scene, for, from this spot, you see for miles and miles the little villages dotted about, numerous tanks, and hills covered

with jungle, lighted up by sun-gleams. There are hundreds of wild roses, and at the house belonging to Captain ——, where pains have been taken with the garden, the flowers are in great profusion. L. is investigating all the nice dangerous paths, and goes out alone, regardless of my remonstrances, being quite delighted when he finds any extra steep place.

We are thirty-five miles from Bangalore, and have two posts a-day, so work goes on all the same. I have a table in the office, which is so (out with it) jolly!

Nandidroog, February 26.

How can I have news of interest for you, living up here as I do, on the top of a hill 4,800 feet above the sea, in an old fort? To-morrow, however, there will be an event in the arrival of our Bishop, and Marie and I have been busy in making an impromptu chapel for him.

I am studying ornithology. The rock abounds in kites, hawks, and eagles, and the other day Marie put the leopard cat, her special pet, outside the house, tied to a chair, when a kite swooped down and caught it up, but, as he could not manage the chair, he had to let go. He returned, however, with five others, so Marie had to rush to the rescue.

Last week the natives killed a panther, and brought it up to show me. Though very small it had killed a cow. Did I tell you that, just before leaving Bangalore, L. killed a cobra which had swallowed a green snake, half its own size, while the latter, on being opened, was found to contain a toad?

We are expecting a succession of visitors, our first being the T.'s, fresh from England. I shall feel inclined to sniff round them like a dog!

Nundidroog, March 7.

I suppose it is the correct thing to begin with the weather, and one cannot but feel compassion for the unfortunate people frizzling down in the plains, as, from our airy position, we contemplate the misty landscape simmering in the heat below.

The house has been brushed up, washed, and dusted, and looks quite smart; children's merry voices make the walls ring again; there is feasting in the dining-room, singing in the drawing-room, and the old days have come back to the musty, fusty, neglected house, the grandeur of which had departed.

The dear good Bishop was carried off in the tonjon by a crowd of naked natives, shouting and singing to their god Ramanoo, and, as the sound of their voices died away down the ghat, that little excitement was over.

Nundidroog, April 2.

I really am ashamed of myself! I, your special correspondent, who promised you a communication once a week! Well! put it down to the atmosphere of the place, which is essentially lazy. The big four-post beds make one snore to look at them, the glare to wink, the gusts of wind to nod, the old-fashioned sofas invite one to lounge, the easy chairs to snooze, the stillness, the monotonous tick-ticking of the clock, and

a general buzzing of insects, are so many lullabys to repose. At four o'clock in the afternoon, a stray traveller, coming into the house, might fancy himself in an enchanted castle, and find sleeping beauties or uglies in every corner of the place, save one, into which there is no admittance except on business.

So much, as an excuse. But our distant position makes other people very busy, and the road hence from Bangalore has not been so wide-awake for years, and will require mending before long. Mr. Smith, the hotel-keeper at Bangalore, says his horses and bullocks have never been so worked, what with wagonettes for the Sahibs and Mem-Sahibs, transits for the ayas and children, trollies for the luggage, and palankins or tonjons for the ghât. Then, the fast-running coolies, who do the thirty-five-miles every day (the road being divided into five stages, with a man at each), with bread, meat, and vegetables, ice, and letters, while natives from the neighbouring villages scale the rocks, with fresh fish from the tanks, game, poultry, milk, grain, and what not. And, then we sit, and enjoy the good things.

'And who are *we*?' you ask. Well, let me see. There is interesting Mrs. —, with her small beautifully-shaped head, with thick plaits of rich auburn hair wound about it, with large brown eyes, who is carried about in a tonjon by eight natives with fig leaves, singing their quaint wild chant. She is always so gentle and quiet, and has a sweet low voice, which says, 'Quite well, thank you,' which is anything but true. With her is Miss —, who is full of life and spirits, trotting

about with a stout stick, up and down, or galloping a pony round the hill, and enjoying it 'Oh! so much!' She will sing for you by the hour, with a full rich voice, which it is a pleasure to listen to, and will croquet you to Jericho, if you give her a chance. She and Mrs. —, with a small child, live in a queer little house, perched on a precipitous rock, half-a-mile down, their nearest neighbours being a colony of monkeys, who look in now and again.

Higher up is Mr. D.'s house, occupied by a host of people, it being a most elastic place. First, there is Mrs. —, a very sprightly hospitable dame, who may be seen at an early hour in the morning, *à la bergère*, in an undeniably short costume, knowing little hat, locks flying in the wind (mane down her shoulders), looking after her cows with, *on dit*, a silver crook and milk pails. As, however, no very early hour sees the light of my countenance, I cannot say if this is correct.

Then there is tall, graceful Mrs. —, with a chignon of golden hair, and five little —s in tow, of various ages. Two fine boys are to be sent shortly to England round the Cape, the thought of which gives poor mamma a heart-ache. Pretty little Cecie, with her lovely dark eyes, sidles up to L. every evening on the croquet ground, and whispers 'Chocolate, please.' The sweet little pet gets carried into the house for some, of course. Then two babies, in the arms of two smart ayahs, with rings in their noses and ears, wrapped in bright cloths.

Higher still, the Nundi house, looking so grey and solemn, and, inside, smelling sweetly of flowers, stolen

from a certain garden hard by, belonging to the other house on the droog, which, though taken, still remains unoccupied.

In one corner, on the ground-floor of the house, in a long low room, lives Marie, my factotum, a very busy person, who keeps the native tailor, who sits cross-legged on the floor, busy also, while a half-caste girl, decidedly pretty, but looking, like the atmosphere, lazy, plays with a handsome wild leopard-cat.

All day long this is the way things go on. Peon, from above, 'Mrs. L. ! Mrs. S. wants lemonade,' or, 'Mrs. M. wants beef tea,' or, 'Mrs. F. wants chicken-broth for baby,' or butler calls, or cook calls, or Beebee Sahib (self) calls, the cows come up to be milked, or the hens must be fed, or stores are wanted, or wine has to be opened.

In the large room above are two ayahs with a baby, *mater familias* sitting, sipping lemonade and fanning herself. On the opposite side Mrs. M. doing nothing in particular, but beef-tea awaits her attention, whilst she is absorbed in contemplating a toddling little darling, on whom an ayah gazes with fond admiration. A Mahomedan walks backwards and forwards outside the door—a sharp faithful servant, and watchful, but with one eye wide awake to his own interests.

In another room is Mr. G. reading a novel, his arm in a sling, and a big cheroot in his mouth, puffing away like a chimney. Between him and the room opposite two native servants are fast asleep on two mats, where they are to be found all day long in the same intellectual condition. A third, a very old man, sits near

them, with a lot of bottles before him, his occupation being that of a cooler.

In the next room, which is cool and dark, there is nobody ; but in the sitting-room leading thence, which smells of smoke and is hot, may be seen the big spider hard at work, and sometimes there is a little spider by his side. There is a very official-looking table, with piles of papers and some maps. 'My dear, don't speak to me,' or, 'there's a peon coming,' or, 'now, go away !' but the little spider is refractory, and says, in reply, 'Bother the peons !' and bullies unmercifully the grand official person, who sits at the official table, before the big official papers.

Now, you know *who* we are. As to *what* we do? Well, at nine, prayers, breakfast at half-past, after which chat and disperse, L. to pen and ink, K. to paint and brushes. Tiffin at two, when we all meet ; and at three the ladies go napping, to reappear at half-past five, when we walk, or sit on the edge of the rocks, lazily gazing on the lands below us, and revelling in the golden sunsets which illumine them.

Or we play croquet, and as the game goes on, the scene becomes animated. It is fast getting dark, and Captain A. calls Miss B. 'a wretch,' and Mrs. C. calls Mr. D. 'a horror' ; and, as it grows darker, and lanterns are called for, you may hear, in mysterious whisper, someone entreated to 'kill Mrs. B.,' or to 'put Mrs. B. out,' and so on, until the bell rings, and there is a general 'Good night.'

After dinner, in the house, *bézique* and music divide the time, until Mrs. B., being herself overcome with

sleep, suggests that 'Dear Mrs. —— looks very tired, or 'Mrs. ——, you seem very much fatigued ;' and so the party breaks up for the night.

Then follow cigars for the gentlemen, and toast and water for the ladies ; and people ascend their ladders into the big beds, and sleep till morning, unless there happens to be a chase after a lizard, or a dash at a scorpion in the bath-room—things not pleasant, but which will occur at times in the best regulated families in this part of the world.

Nundidroog, April 14.

Last week we had a great storm, which has cooled our atmosphere. The peculiar smell of the earth gave warning of the coming rain, and it was a curious sight to watch the storm sweeping up, and hiding one peak after another, with sudden bursts of sunshine on the tanks and clusters of trees in the plain below. In one direction we saw a waterspout, and watched it with our opera-glasses, the sun shining on it, and giving it the strangest appearance, like a column of flame. At last the clouds gathered, and swept over the top of the droog, when down came the refreshing rain with a pleasant patter on the stone balcony.

Mrs. M. has had a great deal of trouble with her servants since she came up here. Her ayah and nurse—the latter a half-caste woman—did not like the droog, and pretended to be ill. The apothecary found out that they were both shamming, so they were sent away ; but as the half-caste refused to walk down the ghat, she was carried off by two natives in a blanket strung on a pole ! Mrs M. has come out of her room for the

first time since her late illness, and is lying on the sofa, looking pale and languid, the lovely brown eyes being bigger and browner than ever.

Her husband has arrived. L. and I, perched on a rock, with opera-glasses, employed ourselves, sister Anne fashion, in spying and reporting his progress. It is one of the great amusements of the place to watch people climbing up the ghat, as we can see our friends miles off an hour or two before they can possibly arrive.

We have had the house full all the week, and every one is delighted to get up here for a little air. I was quite sorry to see Mrs. H. and her two fine little boys depart. They were so good, and charming playthings. They came to dessert every evening in their night-gowns and dressing-gowns—such pretty little figures.

Nundidroog, May 29.

We really are on the move. The monsoon has burst, and we have had one tremendous storm. I never heard such loud thunder. It was like parks of artillery, and the lightning was incessant, forking in every direction. The mountain has put on its nightcap of mist, and is anything but agreeable now as a residence.

Marie left yesterday, and the native servants have it all their own wicked way. All the heavy baggage went down the ghat the day before on the bare backs of fifty coolies, and the house is reduced to its pristine state of bareness and discomfort. There are storms of high winds and rain now every evening, so the place is

dreary, especially as everything has been marched off, and not a book left; so L. and I have to fall back upon an old pack of cards and an ancient newspaper.

Bangalore, June 4.

We left Nundi at the early hour of four. There was a strong wind and a thick driving mist, so that we could not see a yard from the door. I got into the tonjon, well wrapped up in a plaid, eight men hoisting me on their shoulders, a peon on one side and the Amildar on the other, the latter having politely come up to escort me down. Away we went at full trot down the ghat, and, as the mist cleared off, the descent was very pretty, with peeps at the country below. The Amildar was so civil, running by my side all the way, L. having taken the short cut, that I felt quite ashamed of my want of confidence in not liking to be alone with the natives. Arrived at the bottom of the ghat, we found the carriage, and a crowd of carts, coolies, and beggars. L. mounted the redoubtable Ajax, and rode off across country to Devanhully, Ajax prancing and curvetting like a small war-horse. I got into the carriage, escorted by Silladars, and quite enjoyed the drive to Bangalore, which we reached at eleven. I felt so pleased to be at home, as everything looked green and pretty, and Marie, all smiles, was waiting at the door of the bungalow.

Bangalore, February 4, 1870.

Here I am, writing to you in our dismantled drawing-room, from which all the pictures and ornaments have

disappeared. I have just come from the nursery, where I left my Eddie—Marie's 'delicieux tweet,' and the amah's 'chinna Raja' (little king)—laughing and crowing at the flowers on the wall. You would be amused to see the fuss that is made with the little fellow. Marie superintends, and won't move from the nursery, as she says natives are not to be trusted. The ayah sings, dances, and talks to him; the amah considers she does her duty in feeding; old Poochamma is employed all day long in airing and folding; and Rosalie, the half-caste girl, acts as interpreter. In an evening, Marie drives out with him, while the amah sits in front holding a parasol over him. How shall we ever come down to the marrow-bone coach?

On the 1st, the officers of the Commission gave a dinner and dance as a farewell entertainment to L. in the Public Offices, which were most tastefully decorated for the occasion. One room was fitted up as a drawing-room—windows curtained, walls hung with pictures and mirrors, while sofas and settees had taken the place of the official tables and uneasy chairs.

We sat down to dinner upwards of eighty persons in the centre hall of the offices, at four tables, each table being arranged, provendered, and presided over by the wife of an officer in the Commission, each lady displaying her own good taste in the matter. The white walls of the hall were decorated with flags and spears, and the pillars had garlands of a brilliant scarlet creeper just now in flower, which was most effective. After dinner, Mr. K. made a very pretty speech, and did not spare my blushes—never mind, some say they are

becoming. Then they drank our healths, and L. replied.

After dinner the hall was cleared, as if by magic, and dancing began, the band of the 16th Lancers playing in one of the galleries. The whole entertainment was got up most handsomely and tastefully.

On the 2nd, L. went to Mysore to take leave of the little Maharaja, whom he visited in class, learning his A, B, C, with his future courtiers, the young Rajbindes. He afterwards saw them all at play, Colonel M. having taken much pains in teaching them English games. In the evening the town was illuminated, and all the different castes—Brahmins, Seths, Komatis, Lingayuts, and Musalmans, presented complimentary addresses. This was followed by a dinner in the Residency, when there was much speechifying, and the evening ended with a display of fireworks.

Guindy, February 8.

On the 7th, addresses were presented to L. at the Public Offices by the Hindoos and Musalmans of Mysore, and by the people of Coorg. The hall was beautifully decorated, and crowded with many hundreds of natives, who came with garlands of flowers and bouquets to present to L. The address of the Hindoos was well composed, and presented in a handsome sandal-wood box, inlaid with a miniature of the little Raja.

That same evening we left Bangalore. The natives had been very busy all day erecting an arch at the gate, and swinging garlands across the road which leads

from the house to the station. Just before we started, the servants came and laid their turbans at our feet as a sign of regret at our departure. Most of them had been several years in L.'s service, and we had found them very faithful. I have not lost a single thing since I have been out here, which speaks well, I think, for the honesty of the household.

It was dark as we drove out of the compound, and the crowd was so great all the way to the station that we were forced to drive slowly, with men at the horses' heads, lest they should take fright at the shouting of the people, the colored lights, and the torches. The station was crowded with all our friends, who had come to see us off. Such a shaking of hands, good-bye, and good wishes! It was quite affecting, and the station at last became so full that the doors had to be closed, and it was some little time before the train could be safely moved out. As soon as it did there was a great cheer, and we were off. Farewell for ever! At a cross road, a little higher up the line, another crowd had collected, and gave another cheer. It was too dark to recognise anyone, so I could only flutter a handkerchief out of the window, to show that the kind feeling was appreciated.

Away we went, whizzing and whirling all through the night. When the train stopped anywhere, the Coorg deputation, who have come down to Madras to see the last of us, cheered lustily.

How dusty and tired we were next morning, when the sun got up, and glared at us unmercifully before we reached Madras, where we found Lord N.'s son, who had kindly come to meet us with an escort. We then

drove to this charming place, where there is a very large, white, and luxurious house, standing in a wild park, full of fine trees and antelope, with a glimpse of the sea in the distance.

Lady N. is confined to her room, having met with a serious accident. The horses ran away and dashed the carriage against a tree, one of the horses being killed on the spot, and Lady N. being thrown out. She is now suffering from the shock and many bruises, but the wonder is that she was not more hurt.

I am enjoying the visit here as much as is possible, with the prospect of the voyage before me as soon as the gun at Fort St. George announces the arrival of the French steamer.

Galle, February 15.

The gun boomed at last, the French steamer had arrived, and the pleasant visit at Guindy was at an end.

The steamer left Madras on the 12th at midday, so we were well grilled before we got on board. There was the long drive in from Guindy in the heat, the glare and the dust, and then the waiting in the dirty little bureau of the *Messagéries Impériales*, where the heat was stifling. Knowing what I should have to encounter on the pier, I begged for a little water, and, soaking a handkerchief, put it as a protection under my hat. What a guy I must have looked ! but, just then, I was regardless of appearance. Lord N. met us on the pier to say good-bye ; and when a Governor does not think it too hot to turn out for an act of courtesy, I suppose

inferior mortals ought not to grumble ; so I will only give one growl, and say how sorry I felt for myself and everyone else, as I stood in the sun at the top of the ladder at the end of the pier. Then followed the giddy descent, with the waters surging beneath, my heart in my mouth, or my head in my stomach—I don't know which it was. The leap in, and the agonising moments watching Marie descend with the baby, and the feeling of relief when we were all safely in, and the men pulled off to the ship. There is one comfort in being well frightened—that it is an effectual cure for sea-sickness.

The faithful Coorgs came off to the ship, and got on board to see the last of us, bringing me a photograph of themselves, nicely taken in a group, and they gave three cheers when they left.

The 'Godavery' was a small steamer, well appointed, and the Commandant was very civil. The *cuisine* was excellent, but what was food to me at such times ! We had a quick run to Pondicherry, which we reached the same day. The heat was very great, but bearable till we anchored in the roads. At night it was suffocating, and waking with a stifled feeling, I called to L., and fainted away. I was dragged into the saloon, where there was more air, or, I believe, I should never have revived. The Commandant was very considerate, and, as there was only one other lady on board, begged I would occupy the ladies' saloon, where I had more space and air.

We reached Point-de-Galle on the 15th, and as the China steamer had not arrived, we landed, and came to the hotel, which is very comfortable, but the noise

outside is distressing. 'Madam, buy ring?' 'I got one very good ring.' 'Master want ruby?' 'Sir—sir, buy fan? Very good fan.' 'Madam, buy basket—very cheap.' 'Comb, sir? very good comb;' and so it goes on all day, a crowd of natives, each one shouting at the top of his voice, anxious to sell his wares, and persecuting everyone who goes in or out of the hotel, or appears at a window, or sits in the verandah. It is such a nuisance!

Marseilles, March 13.

The rest of the voyage home has been both interesting and amusing. The 'Hooghly' is a splendid vessel, the largest on the line, and the arrangements and management are perfect.

The evening before we left Galle, the great ship presented a most curious and animated scene. I can only compare it to a beehive or an ants' nest swarming with human beings. As she lay in the harbour at Galle, she was surrounded by crowds of boats and barges, discharging provender, specie, or luggage, while her decks and vast sides were crowded with people.

The passengers were of all nations, and the manners and customs of some were entertaining. L. was very much taken aback the first morning after we sailed, on going on deck, as it is the custom for gentlemen to do on board the P. and O. steamers, to find that ladies, also with bare feet and airy garments, were enjoying the morning air. Some of the costumes were peculiar. One neglected little boy of five years old

wore nothing but a pinafore, which had no strings behind, so that it waved over his head like a flag of distress, while several young girls appeared in white calico drawers and blouses—loose and cool, no doubt, but remarkable.

The *cuisine* was excellent, and the attendance very good, all the meals being served *à la Russe*. One arrangement struck me as being very good, that is, that all the luggage was lettered and placed in the hold, so that there was no difficulty in getting at the boxes; and any lady could go down with ease and get anything she might require.

We had a quick and smooth run to Aden, which we reached on February 25, but, on leaving, the wind had freshened, it was rather rough, and the ‘Hooghly’ began to roll in a way which I thought very dreadful. Visions of a possible shipwreck on a coral reef would present themselves to my mind—not improbable even, seeing that so many steamers have been lost on the reefs in the Red Sea in fair weather, and now it was foul. That night I put everything ready in case of accident, and sat up in my berth ready for an emergency, getting laughed at by L. for my pains; but when I remember how M. was wrecked in the ‘Alma,’ in the Red Sea, in perfectly calm weather, and landed on a coral reef in nothing but her night gown, I think I was only prudent.

We arrived at Suez a day earlier than we were expected, the Commandant being anxious to see how quickly the voyage could be made by the Canal in fair weather; but imagine his disgust, and our impa-

tience, when we found that we could not enter the Canal, the Superintendent being absent, and his return uncertain. We were advised not to land, but some gentlemen did so, and were left behind in consequence, for next morning it blew a gale, and the little steamer in which they came off could not get alongside of the 'Hooghly.' After a delay of some hours we steamed away to the entrance of the Canal, and then our troubles began. The Commandant did get us out of them, but I think he was a clever man to do so, for the navigation through the Canal of a ship of 2,500 tons, like the 'Hooghly,' was a miracle of skill, and he never left the passerelle from the moment we started till we anchored at night at Kantara.

The Canal work, though wonderful as a piece of engineering, cannot as yet be said to be a perfect success. It is, for the greater part of the way, extremely narrow, and not only does it not admit of two ships passing one another, excepting in a few places, but a ship of the length of the 'Hooghly' has considerable difficulty in navigating the curves. In many places the depth of the water is quite insufficient to admit of the passage of vessels drawing more than 17 feet (though, nominally, it admits those drawing 21 feet), owing no doubt to the silting process which is always going on.

As it was blowing a gale of wind when we entered the Canal, it was found impossible to steam at regulation speed, or the ship would have been blown on to the bank, and to add to the difficulty, dredging machines were at work, and as we could not stop, and they could not get out of the way, we struck against

some of them, and in one instance carried away one of our ladders. After losing sight of Suez and the statue of Lieut. Waghorn at the entrance to the Canal, nothing was to be seen but the trackless desert, and there was no vestige of vegetation or habitation, except the huts of the workmen, till we reached the bitter lakes, where the water, being deeper, admits of rapid passage. After leaving these we reached Ismailia, a tolerably large place, and the terminus of a branch of the Cairo railway.

On leaving Ismailia the Canal again narrows, and we touched the bottom three times. Before we arrived at Kantara, the ship suddenly gave a great lurch over, as if she would turn on her side, and there was a rush at once of people, some to the side and some below, when she righted. It was evident, however, that she had stuck fast, and it was long before she moved again, and when she did, we perceived that something had happened to the screw. The excitement on board was intense, everyone on board who was supposed to understand anything of nautical matters being appealed to as to whether it would be safe to proceed on the voyage in the 'Hooghly.' People consulted together and shook their heads and croaked, and nothing else was discussed all day, most people looking at the blackest side. The next morning a young Frenchman dived under the ship, and ascertained that two or three blades of the screw were broken or bent.

We reached Port Saïd at 2 P.M. on the 4th. Though this town is quite of recent origin, it already

numbers 10,000 people, being a fast-rising dépôt and port for steamers. Its population is a motley rabble of French, Italians, Germans, and Levantines, added to the indigenous Egyptians. It is very dirty, and the streets are simply tracks of heavy sand. Hotels, shops, and cafés are rising up, and there is a church and a convent, but the appearance of the place is anything but attractive.

Divers went down to examine the damaged screw, which was found not to be so much injured as we feared, although it was apprehended that the speed of the ship would be lessened.

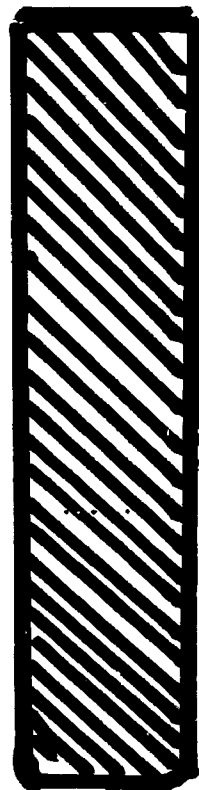
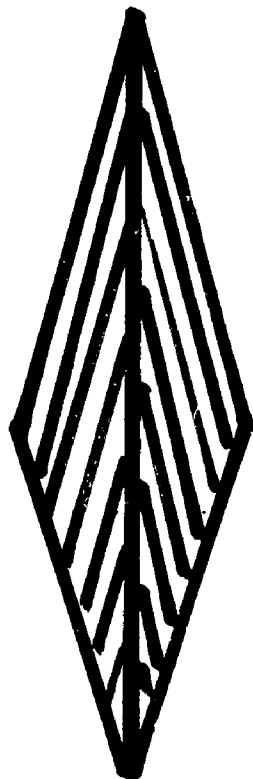
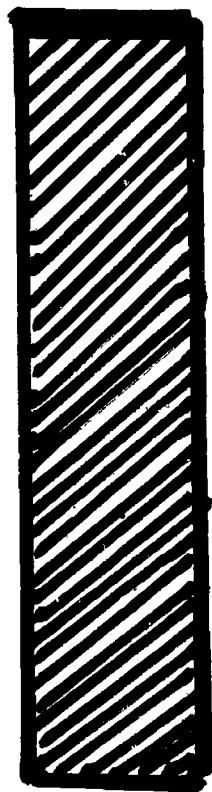
We left on the 5th in bad weather, a strong north-west wind having blown for two or three days, raising a considerable sea, but when we sighted Candia it had fallen, and I was less miserable. The view of the island was beautiful, the higher hills being covered with snow. On the 8th, the sea was again rough, and the 'Hooghly' pitched about in a wonderful way. As I struggled across the saloon, I found myself at one moment tumbling down hill and the next struggling up an incline. As we entered the Straits of Messina, the wind fell, and the sea became calm.

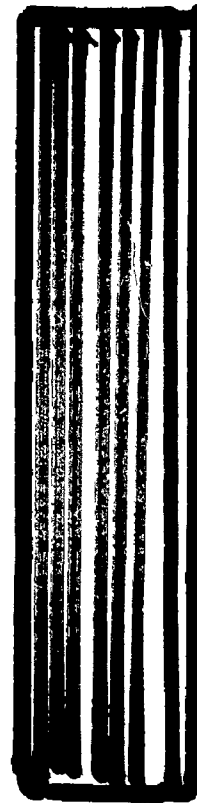
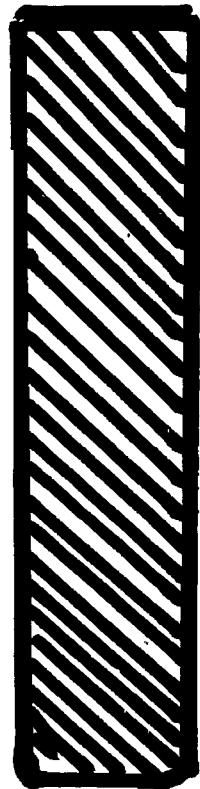
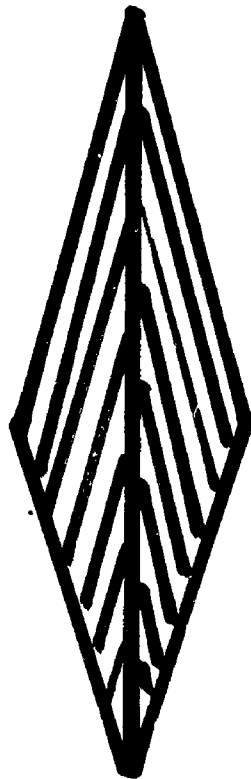
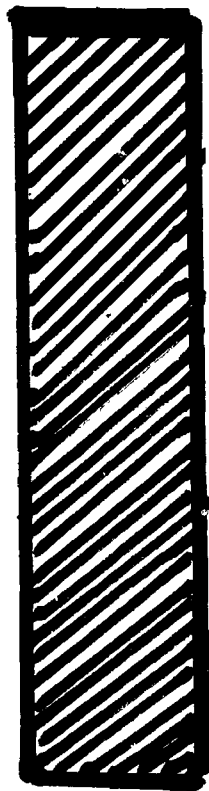
The view of the Calabrian coast on one side, and of Sicily, with the frozen summit of Mount Etna, on the other, was glorious, and we had a most enjoyable run close to the former, passing numerous towns and farms, with bright patches of cultivated ground, and, behind, the lofty rugged mountains. The whole scenery of the Messina Straits is grand and striking, and on leaving them we resumed our north-westerly course, pass-

ing by the smoking crater of Stromboli and its sister isles.

The wind was so high that the Commandant thought it prudent to avoid the rough weather which we should probably encounter if we passed through the Straits of Bonifaccio, so we steamed along the eastern side of Corsica, and in the morning had a grand view of Bastia and other places near Cape Corse. But the mestral blew fiercely, and on reaching Marseilles it was so rough that the pilot would not take us into harbour, so we steered into the quarantine basin to our great disgust and wrath. We were all ready to land, and many of us knew that warm hearts and dear hands were waiting on the quay to greet us.

The ship, having been built for the tropics, was bitterly cold, the mestral whistling through the persiennes, while we all shivered and grumbled and bemoaned our hard fate for thirty-six long weary hours, at the end of which time, having all lost our tempers, and many of us caught bad colds, we steered towards the Quai Napoleon. The ship seemed herself irate at her cold reception, and took the roof off a warehouse as she lay to.





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Page 1 - 104

M E M O I R S

OF

HYDER AND TIPPOO

Rulers of Seringapatam,

WRITTEN IN THE MAHRATTA LANGUAGE.

BY

RAM CHANDRA RAO 'Punganuri'

WHO WAS LONG IN THEIR
EMPLOY.

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TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH AND ILLUSTRATED WITH ANNOTATIONS...

BY

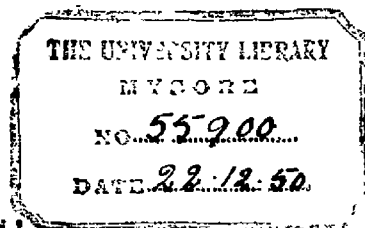
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M A D R A S:

PRINTED BY SIMKINS AND CO. AT THE ADVERTISER PRESS.

1849.



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RAM

P R E F A C E.

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WHY add another history to those already written of Hyder and Tippoo? Fifty years ago such a question might have appeared reasonable: but the historians of the present day whether telling the tale of Greece, of Rome, or England, have seen the wisdom of going to the fountain head, and testing the documents which a more easy and less critical age accepted - without a doubt.

The Histories of Hyder and Tippoo have been excellently written by Colonel Wmils, Colonel Kirkpatrick, Major Beatson and some other contemporary officers in the English army: these writers were enemies to Tippoo, and their statements may be contrasted with the Persian Memoir written by Mir Hussein Ali Khan KIRMANI: of which Colonel Miles has lately published an English translation. Another Memoir has been printed in Persian at Calcutta in 1848, quarto, 988 pages, under the Karnamah Haidari the author's name does not appear. This is little more than a compilation from preceeding Memoirs published in English or in Persian.

But to this day no English history has appeared translated from accounts written by Hindus. Whether governed by - Mahometans or others, the Hindus were sufferers. "Quiequid Delirant reges plectuntur Achivi". And the Hindus are apt, as the following pages shew, to approve the deeds of tyrants. Let those who murmur (John Bull's privilege) regarding the English rule in India, read authentic histories of the Mahometan dominion, or of the earlier Hindu rajas' cruelties, and consider whether the good old times are such as need be regretted.

We shall now see what those times were, even as described by a Hindu historian who was evidently partial to the

_____ good old rule the simple plan
That those should take who have the power
And he may keep that can.

The original is written in the MAHRATTA language; and appears to have been found in Seringapatam after the death of Tippoo: it was given in the year 1801 by Lieut.Col.Barry Close to Major Mackenzie: among whose other manuscripts it now is preserved in the College of Madras. The author makes no mention of himself: but from other sources it appears that his name was Ram Chunder Rao of Punganoor: commonly designated -

" PUNGANURI "

The style of the work is plain and simple even to rudeness. It is thickly strewn with foreign phrases, either Persian or Sanscrit: and the construction is so careless that the same passage may often be translated two or three different ways. The words which I have written in italicks, or between brackets, are supplied to complete the sense. The first chapters bear some marks of having been formerly translated into English: but the person who undertook the task was very probably deterred by the ambiguous style. In many passages the facts are merely alluded to, or slightly mentioned: and the full meaning was ^{deciphered} ~~decyphered~~ only through the medium of English publications, or of contemporary records: some of which are written in Mahratta, some in Canarese, and a few in Telugu, or Tamil.

Still the outline is clearly given by the Maharatta historian; and I confess that until I met with this volume I had no clear idea of the history of Hyder and Tippoo.

The Mahratta original is about to be printed: and at the same time there will probably appear one version written in Canarese and another in Hindustani.

In spelling proper names, I would willingly have adopted Sir William Jones' method 'Haidar, and Tipu', being rulers of Sri Ranga Patnam, on the Caveri in Maisur; conquerors of Bengilur and Ghutti", but ordinary readers, for whom this volume is written, prefer the spelling wick custom has sanctioned.

MEMOIRS OF HYDER ALI BAHADUR
AND OF HIS SON TIPPU
SULTAN

Written in the Mahratta Language

By

RAM CHANDRA RAO 'Punganoory'

An Officer Attached to the Treasury Under these

Princes:

IN FOUR BOOKS

'Miserere inopum Sociorum!

Ossa vides regum vacuis exxueta medullis'

Juvenal.

BOOK I.

Comprising Seventeen years A.D.1749-1766

I. The district named Sireh was originally under the dominion of the Moghuls: including Kolhar and other departments. There were in this place two brothers named Fateh Naik and Hyder Naik. The district of Sireh was in the hands of Kuradi Mohammad Khan: and when he was expelled, Tahir Khan succeeded him as Commandant. The two brothers entered his service bringing a few spearmen with them. 1.

Then these two were directed to take charge of Kolhar, (2) a fort under Tahir Khan: who soon set out on a circuit: the ruler of Chitradurg had by fraud seized the town of Sireh: but when this was known to Fateh Khan and Hyder Naik the rulers of Kolhar they marched with 2000 foot and 500 horse and took the town by storm: on which occasion Fateh Naik was wounded with a ball which caused his death. His sons were named Shahbaz Naik and Hyder Naik, (3) and both of these then quitted Kolhar and went to Great Balapoor which was ruled by Abbas Kulikhan, where they dwell at ease (See Wilks: 1. 145).

2. Hyder Naik then went to Madgiri (a large village near Seringapatam) which had been Fateh Naik's residence, and entered the service of the baron Molraz: bringing two hundred horse and one thousand foot with him. Then the ruler of Balapoor looking upon Shahbaz⁴ Naik and Hyder Naik as mounted men, imprisoned them and extorted money and valuables from them. After obtaining their release they went to Dhakini Fort where they lived in security. Their mother's brother named Ibrahim Sahib was employed in the Cavalry entertained by Sadulla Khan the ruler (Subadar) of Arcot: he sent for them and gave them some troopers, and introduced them to the ruler: who gave them the command of fifty horse. They served him for sometime: then troublous times began¹ and Ibrahim Saheb with Shahbaz Naik and Hyder Naik² came to Seringapatam: where they were introduced by their uncle Hyder Naik to Deva Raz the (Dalwai or) Minister of Krishna Raz Wadiyar, Raja of Mysore: who appointed Hyder a Naik and gave them two hundred horsemen and one thousand foot: giving fifty horse and three hundred foot to Ibrahim Sahib.

3. Hyder was employed in his elder brother's troop: which was sent to Bangalore under the orders of Katti³ Gopal Raz. In the year (A.D 1749) Seringa-patam was ruled by (Kharachuri)⁴ Nand Raz (who was the 'Dalwai' or Commander)⁵ and he sent an army to seize the town of Devanhalli in the Lesser Balapoor.⁶ The invaders had eight thousand horse and twenty thousand Carnatic militia men⁷. They besieged the town erecting batteries; wherein Shahbaz Naik and Hyder Naik distinguished themselves so much that the Raja gave each of them fifty horse and two hundred foot soldiers in addition and Hyder daily rose higher and higher in the Dalway's favor. The army was engaged against Deonhalli for eight months and at last the town capitulated. Then Hyder accompanied Nandi-

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Raj back to Seringapatam.

4. After awhile, in the year Sucla (A.D.1749) (8) Nawab Nasir Jung marched from Hydrabad accompanied by all the Southron (Paligars) barons: he invaded the (Deccan) South country with an army of 100,000 foot 100,000 Carnatic militia, and seven hundred cannon. (9) He was on his way to ravage the Arcot country and halted at Madgiri on the boundaries of Seringapatam.

5. Nawab (Nasir Jung sent orders to Seringapatam desiring the Raja (the Tartar to come with his army; the Raja appointed Barki Venkat Rao the General of his troops sending with him five thousand horse, and ten thousand foot. They were accompanied by the two Naiks (meaning Hyder and his brother). The Nabob marched down from the hill country and arrived at Arcot. Here he pitched his camp intending to fight the rulers of Pondicherry (the French) and Hidayat Mohidin Khan and Channa Sahib. At this period Mir Ali Raja Khan's brother the former ruler of Gurram-Conda (10) was at Arcot in distress.

6. Hyder Naik now wedded the elder sister of Mir Ali Khan. (1) The Nabob's troops remained encamped at Arcot for a time and a battle took place near Pondicherry. (2) There was an act of treachery. The baron of Kurnool (named Pathan Kimmah Bahadurkhan (and the Nabob of Cuddapah, named Mocha Mian) and (Abdul Karim Khan, baron) of Savanoor (3) all three had come into the designs laid by the ruler of Pondicherry: the French troops made a night attack on Nasir Jung and Nasir Jung therefore mounted on his Elephant, came towards those three pathans (viz of Kurnool &c.) whereupon Kimmah Bahadur Khan shot him dead with a bullet: his head was cut off and mounted on a flag staff. All his army fled, and his wealth and treasury were plundered.(4)

7. This happened in the year Sucla (A.D.1749) That night the army was scattered: on this occasion Hyder Naik obtained as plunder several horses; and camels of the saocars loaded with treasure: he sent all this to his home at Devanhulli.

8. After the Nabob's (Nasir Jun.) death (5) his brothers Salabat Jung and the rest went with all the army to Hyderabad. The (Subadars and Paligars) barons and chieftains of the Decan went to their towns: and the people of Seringapatam also went home.

9. Hyder exhibited his troops before the king of Mysore (6) who now granted him in addition 500 horse, 500 foot, and some (piadeh) lancers: he daily grew in force: he flattered Nanza Raj and gained his favour.(7)

10. Meantime Chanda Sahab had settled the Arcot country: and then marched to Trichinopoly. Mohammad Ali was Commandant of the fort of Trichinopoly: which place was besieged by (the 'Phulcheri people') the French; whom Chanda Sahab.(8. and 9) had summoned. .Then Mohammad Ali Khan applied to the (Dalwi) Superintendent at Mysore who agreed to give him aid: on condition the fort of Trichinopoly should be given up to (Nanza Raj) the Superintendent: who therefore marched from Seringapatam with 10,000 horse and 20,000 foot.(10) This was in the year Prajotpatti (A.D.1751).

11. Nanda Raj (1) arrived at Trichinopoly (2) and had an interview with Mohammad Ali Khan: with his aid he routed the army of Chanda Sahab whose head he cut off and set it over the Mysore gate of Seringapatam. This was in the year Angiresa (A.D.1752) See Wilks I, 284.

12. Then Devaraj and Mandiraj desired Mohammad Ali Khan to yield the fort to him recording to his agreement: but this was not done, the Mussulman chief acted craftly: he at once bally yielded the fort, but on admitting the Raja's servant

Katti Gopal Raj (another manuscript in the Telugu language says Katti Kam Kaj) this man was at once made a prisoner while the guns of the fort opened upon the army of the Dalwai. This Mohammad Ali Khan fought stoutly. Nandaraz was surprised (3) he assembled his army, and placed his batteries against the fort. Morari Rao (of Chootti, the ghorparey) and the French officers aided (the troops of the Dalwai). The siege commenced vigorously(4).

13. (Hyder) Naik had always distinguished himself as a good soldier and gained the favour of (Nanda) Raja who promoted him in rank giving him in addition 2000 horse, 5000 foot, 2000 peons (piyade) and 500 of the (tabela) household troops. (5) He thenceforth was considered the most powerful chieftain in the (Seringa)patam army.

14. The siege (of Trichinopoly) lasted one year Srimukh (A.D. 1753) Salabat Jung (brother of the deceased Nasir Jung) marched from Hyderabad to Seringapatam: whereupon Devaraz the Minister of that country wrote to (his brother) Nandi Raz calling on him to return from Trichinopoly with his army.

wherefore they broke up the siege, and Nandaraz and Hyder Naik returned up the mountains and approached (Seringa)patam. By this time the Moguls (meaning the Hyderabad force) had come to terms with the king and departed. Nandi Raj had suffered much (khiffat)disgrace(6) and pitched his camp at Nanjangonda. Nanda Raz said why should the troops sit idle? So he sent them under Hyder's command to Dindigul. (7)

15. (Hyder) Naik made his head quarters at Dindigul, but made various incursions and plundered (8) Palani, Virupaxapuram, Uttamapalam; Perikol, these five places; and in other directions. (9) In some towns he placed his own (thanas) guards the exacted (Khandani) tribute from many (Paligars) barons

barons. Thus he collected money and ~~filled money~~ and filled up his battalions both of horse and foot: accumulating daily fresh supplies of musquets and cannon.

16. At this time Devaraz at Seringapatam fell out with younger brother Nandaraz: (10) whereupon Devaraz quitted Seringapatam and went to Sattyamangalam where he remained. Hyder NAWAB (11) heard of this when he was near Palghat as he was marching from Calicut to Dindigul and as there was much plunder to be had in the lands ruled by Achanna and his Nairs, (12) he sent his force in that direction; ordering them to collect abundant spoils. He sent his (sala) brother-in-law Makhdum Saheb there with his (diwan) agent Vencat Rao with 2000 horse and 5000 foot and cannon. They captured the town of Palghatcheri and fixed the tribute (1) to be levied on it: then they plundered Part of the (Cochin and Calicut) countries and placed guards there. The king of the Nairs was intimidated and agreed to pay twelve lacs of Rupees. This was in the year Iswara (A.D.1757.) (2)

17. While Hyder lay at Dindigal he was summoned by the Dalwai (Devaraz) to Sattyamangalam. Then the Raja of the Nairs (the Coorg raja) sent a message to the Dalwai saying "release my commanders whom you have taken captive, and recall your troops: then I will pay the twelve lacks of Rupees. The Dalwai therefore sent such a message to Hyder desiring him to draw off his troops. This message he sent by the hands of Nanjunda Sastri the Vakil: who was supported by Hari Sing and some troops. They called on Hyder to withdraw his troops as they would get the money paid. Hyder replied " I have expended much money on my army and stores and warlike acts, request I may first be repaid." To this the Dalwai" agreed. (3)

18. Then Hyder obtained a document (tamassuk) to this effect from Waddada Girganna the agent (carbari) of the Dalwai and then recalled his troops. The Dalwai then returned from Satamangal to Seringapatam and on the third day after his arrival he died: his death happened on Bahudanya, Jeshta Suda 12 (Thursday 15th June 1758).

19. Nandi Raj now became (mukhtyar) plenipotentiary. (4) The (Nanjunda) "Sastree" who had gone on a embassy to Calicut was dead; and the troops that accompanied him had returned without obtaining a penny (cowry) of the twelve lacks of Rupees promised by the king. When (Hyder) Naik heard of this he began to demand payment from the Raja (according to the bond which he had taken from Girganna.) (Nandi) Raja undertook to pay the money himself: he therefore wrote a war-want ordering the revenues of (Coyem muttur) Coimbatoor to be paid to Hyder. (5).

20. Nanda Raz., being now supreme at Seringapatam was posterred for pay by the commandants of troops: who beset him grievously. He reckoned up the sums they demanded, and satisfied them partly; either with money, cloths, grain or goods. Then he turned them out of the town and got rid of them. Among them were some troublesome vagabonds whom he stript of what they had got.

21. Hari Sing (has already been mentioned) see 17) he was a good officer: he had gone to the siege of Calicut and (on being dismissed) he went to Avanasī and he was about to visit the Raja and the rest. (6) Hyder Naik had long had a quarrel with this man; ever since he had met him at Trichinopoly. He sent (his nephew brother-in-law) Makhdum Saheb (to Avanasī) with 500 horse and 2000 foot to make an assault by night on Hari Sing, smote him, routed his troops captured 300 horses, 1000 matchlocks, and 3 cannon with two elephants and got other plunder, all which he brought safe to Seringapatam.

Seringapatam. He presented 12 or 14 horses one elephant and three cannons to (Nanda) Raja, appropriating the rest of the spoil.

22. The Dalwai after this victory desired him to lodge with his troops outside the town (of Seringapatam). Daily he swelled the number of his fighting men: and set his own guards at all the four gates of the town, placing his own men as sentinels. Then he gave all the management of the country to his (vakeel) minister of Khande. Rao making him supreme (instead of Nandi Raz).

23. Then Nandi Raz who was all powerful advised the Kartar (or nominal king of Mysore) saying, The realm is yours; rule it as you please. I have nothing to do with it, only I request you to grant me land as a maintenance, and to rule the rest yourself. The Kartar then consulted with (Hyder) Naik, Khandi Rao the vakeel (Agent), and Venkatapati the (Pradhan) chief minister. It was settled that land valued at three lacks (of pagodas should) be granted to (Nanda) Raz; and there was an agreement executed to this effect between the Karta and (Nanda) Raz.

24. Gopal Hari, a Mahratta chieftain came in the year Bahudanya (A.D.1758) with 40 or 50,000 horse to the (Seringa) patam country, where he took the fort of Maddur Cenepatam: Barki Sri Nivas(1) was stationed by the Kartar, with his troops at Bangalore: this town Gopal Hari besieged but - Hyder Naik marched with his army to Cenapatam out of which he beat the Mahratta garrison. On hearing of this the Mahrattas broke up their batteries at Bangalore and set out to attack Cenapatam where they halted. Hyder took 10,000 horse including Nanda Raja's and 8,000 foot and 20 guns with warlike stores; he took the field and a battle ensued. Hyder made three night attacks on the Mahratta army and

and seized many of their horse.

25. This war lasted three months and at last the Mahrattas were unable to resist: and came to terms. In the (preceding) year Iswara (1757) the Peshwa had come to Seringapatam and demanded tribute; which was not paid. The Mahratta took up their position three coss northwards (six miles) off on the bank of the river (near Seringapatam).

As the money was not paid they seized all the land that lies between Cadur and Banavar and Maddur Cenapatam *Chennapat* which they held as a pledge. Then Hyder desired them to quit this country: promising to pay them thirty two lacks of rupees. (2) This he persuaded them to do. Then he reported to the Kartar that he had effected this and freed the country by promising to pay 32 lacks.

26. But the Kartar returned for answer by Khandeh Rao that at present he had no money but he promised to collect ten lacks of rupees from his officers and had jewels then in the treasury which would discharge half the demand. Khandeh Rao came to Hyder with the message: and then went to the Mahratta chief: paying him half the sum due and giving him assignments for the residue on various bankers. Thus he freed these districts from the invaders. He then returned with Hyder to Seringapatam. (3) and (4).

27. The kartar (or king of Mysore by name Krishna Raj Vadayar) and the Dalwai Nanda Raz received Hyder joyfully and in the month Magha in the year Bahudanya (A.D. 1758) these two Rajas bestowed on Hyder the title "Nawab Hyder Ali Khan", granting him the princely Insignia, the horse, the elephant, the Naubat (drum) Khilat (robe) and jewels. (5)

28. Five or six months after the kartar and the Queen Dowager (buddhe rane) and Vencati Pati the (Prathani)

minister and (Hyder) Bahadur and Khande Rao, all held vain counsel together, and agreed that as long as Nandi Raz remained in town their business could not go on well. This they stated to (Nandi) Raz: who was much displeased. He replied I will not dwell here, settle it as you please and manage your lands as you think best. So saying he quitted (Seringapatam) with his attendants and thousand horse and 3000 foot. He took with him Barki Vencat Rao and proceeded to Mysore. Then (Hyder) Bahadur and the (Kartar) kind appointed Khandeh Rao to govern Seringapatam as supreme.

29. Five or six months after this the kartar sent a message (to Nanda Raz) saying, Lands valued at three lacs of pagodas (per annum) were given to you keep one third (lack) of this and relinquish two thirds (lacks). Then they sent their troops to sequestrate these lands. When (Nandeh) Raz heard this he fortified Mysore and collected military stores (to resist this demand.) (6).

30. But in the year Pramadi (A.D. 1758) the English attacked Pondicherry (Phoolcheri). Then the French sent a trusty officer of theirs: who came to (Seringa) patam and paid his respects to Hyder, and to the Kartar and requested that they would aid the French with troops: and he added many promises. Hyder agreed: and sent his brother-in-law Makhtum Saheb and his (diwan) minister Vencat Rao with the messenger giving him 3000 horse. and 6000 foot and ten - cannon: sending them by the Baramahai road (1). This army marched down the hills and seized the lands of Anecal which belonged to the RAYAL. (2).

31. The low countries, Krishnagiri, and the twelve shires (Baramahl) were governed by the Nawab of Cuddapa whose servant Aziz (3) khan with a thousand horse was the ruler. (Magdum) beat him (4) and slew him (Aziz khan) and

and seized his land: placed proper officers to rule it and then marched to Pondicherry. On their route they took the fort of Tya-garh (5) and placed a garrison there.

32. When the (kartar) king heard at Seringapatam that Nanda Raz was fortifying Mysore he sent a message (in the month kartik, year Pramade A.D. 1759) to Hyder saying, "The fort of Mysore is the place of the throne of the kings of (Seringa) patam: and as he (i.e. Nand raj) is now preparing military stores there I desire that you (Hyder) will go with your troops, besiege that place (Mysore) turn him (Nand Raz) out and appoint him to dwell elsewhere. (In this sentence there is some confusion of pronouns).

33. Thereupon Hyder set out with his own troops and the Royal forces 4000 cavalry 6000 foot and artillery: he marched to Mysore and besieged the town. But the besieged were in great force; and the siege was protected for three months: Hyder's forces were hard pressed: indeed on both sides six thousand men fell. At last the besieged came to terms and (Nandi) Raz was brought out. Out of lands valued at three lacks of pagodas per annum, the lands of Periapatam &c. valued at one lack were given to (Nandi) Raz: the residue of the land they took from him: and placed a garrison in the fort of Mysore.

34. Hyder then returned to Seringapatam and stated all he had done: describing the batteries and entrenchments. But as the Kartar was a child and never had witnessed a battle he wished to see the field of action. Hyder therefore took him to Mysore where he viewed the very places and the batteries; and being much pleased he promoted Hyder. Then they returned to Seringapatam.

35. After four or five months Bini Vissaji Pant came from the Peshqa's Court; he had with him 20,000 horse: and

and halted on the confines of Devanahalli and Balapur. The force sent to Pondicherry (see Chapter 30) had been checked there by the English and did not return.

At this time the mother of Valasher(6) with a view of ruin Hyder laid a plot with Khandeh Rao and Vencatputi the pradhan and other servants (ahil kar) and resolved on asking the aid of Bini Visaji Pant(7) the Mahratta.

36. They considered saying, Hyder has now with him only 2000 foot and 200 horse; the rest of his troop are absent being detached at various posts. We shall not again have such an opportunity. If (Hyder) becomes too powerful; all the country will fall into his hands; he certainly will usurp all power. Let us now chastise him and ruin him - effectually.

37. After counselling thus they selected some of older members of the family (samsthan) and in month Sravana(8) year Vicrama(A.D.1760) they turned the guns of the Fort of Seringapatam upon the house wherein Hyder lived without the walls. Hyder was surprized at this assault; he wondered what caused this treachery and said if I continue here I shall be hurt. So he portioned out his goods, jewels and money bags (9) among his followers and sent them away under the care of his uncle Ibrahim Sahib and His (Ibrahim's son).

38. They set out that night and crossed the river (Caveri) in a basket(boat). They travelled in a day and a half to Anekal. There he took additional men (from the garrison). In the fort of Bangalore there was Kabir Begh (another officer of Hyder) to whom (Hyder) sent a letter and then proceeded to Bangalore.

39. Meanwhile at Seringapatam Khandeh Rao went next day and sat down (with his troops) at the gate of Hyder's (10) house. At this time Tippoo Sultan was eight years old.

They seated (Tippoo) in a palankeen and brought him with Hyder's dependant's (1) to a house near the mosque inside the fort (of Seringapatam). Here they placed a guard and arranged how daily supplies should be provided (for Tippoo Saib) and the other members of Hyder's family. (2) The (Raja i.e. the) Kartar then seized (Hyder's) elephants, camels, horse, artillery and other stores: and lodged them all (in Seringapatam). (3)

40. After (Hyder) Bahadur arrived at Bangalore, he expected a loan (4) of one lac of pagodas (about 350,000 Rupees) from the merchants and with this he paid his troops and raised additional recruits.

There was one Fath Ullah Khan (son of Mir Mohammed Khan and son-in-law of the Subahdar of Sirch) (See page first of book first: Fath Ullah Khan) was a gallant leader in the service at Kolhar: him Hyder summoned to Bangalore with a view to enlist him: on arrival he was received (by Hyder) with every mark of respect and entertained in Hyder's service on a salary of 2000 Rupees per month in addition to a jageer worth 10,000 Rupees per annum. (5)

41. Afterwards the ruler (6) of Seringapatam having sent a message to the Mahratta General Bini Vassaji Pant; requesting ten thousand horse; they arrived. They were commanded by a captain named Anand Gopal who arrived (at Seringapatam) the third day after (Hyder) Bahadur (whom they came to seize) had quitted the town. This captain had an interview with the Kartar (i.e. the Raja) and agreed that twelve lacks of Rupees should be paid for his inflicting due punishment on Hyder. He took 4,000 foot and 2000 horse from the Raja's household whom (the Kartar) sent along with Ananda Gopal the captain and they marched to join Vissaji Pant at Deonhalli.

42. Meantime the detachment which Hyder had sent under Makhdum Saheb's command (see para 30) to Pondicherry were

not able to resist the English who were there in great force. (Makdum Saheb) therefore left his guns behind him (see Kirmani page 81) with every thing else that he did not require. He marched all night and (7) reached Tyagada (30 miles WSW of Pondicherry) he displaced the garrison of that place and with all his forces he marched through the hill pass of Jayacota to a place named Anchet 8) and thence went to Hossur.

43. When the Mahrattas heard of this, they surrounded Makhdum Saheb to destroy his troops. This siege continued ten or twelve days. Hyder, who was then at Bangalore, on hearing of this took steps to extricate his army. He sent 1000 cavalry and 2000 foot and some guns under the command of Fath-ullah-Khan (abovenamed) who marched Nelmangal (9). The Mahrattas heard of this and opposed these troops to prevent the junction. As (Fazl ullah Khan) (10) had but a weak force they were broken and retreated: and being unable to maintain their ground in Nelmangal, they retreated at night to Bangalore, losing some of their men who fell into the hands of the Mahrattas.

44. Now Hyder understanding that the Mahratta force was very strong, sent word and asked a truce (11) of Bini Vissaji Pant: who at this time received orders from Poonah stating that in Hindustan the Abdalees had rebelled against his highness the Bhao, (12) and recalling him (Vissaji) to Poonah. Therefore Vissaji (13) offered terms to Hyder: and they agreed that Hyder should pay three lakhs of Rupees in coin, and that he should relinquish to the Mahrattas the Kishnagiri and Baramahal districts. The money was paid to Vissaji and the lands in question were given over to him, he placed his garrison in the Kishengiri and Baramahal districts, and marched home (to Poonah). This happened in the year Vicrama (A.D. 1760 S.S.1682=A.H.1171). The Raja's army then returned to Seringapatam.

45. Hyder's army which was then at Ancheti marched to Bangalore (Hyder) assembled all his force here: he halted one month in this place: he appointed Ibrahim Sahib to command Bangalore, (Hyder) then set out from that place, taking with him nearly three thousand horse and six thousand foot; he marched from Bangalore and proceeded to (Raj Velur) Vellore, and then marched away to Harpanahalli. He sent a detachment to Satyamangalam under the hills; then he by craft made himself master of this place and of the road through the hill pass. (Wilks 1.427, gives a clearer account)

46. Then the Raja (Kartar) being in Seringapatam took counsel; he collected his troops and summoned 2000 Mahratta horse: in all he had 5000 horse and 6000 foot. Then Khande Rao, with Vencat Pati the (Pradhan) premier; and Barki Vencat Rao, with other officers, marched to Nanjan goond to encounter Hyder, (1) whose army had come to that place from Harpanahalli. A battle ensued, Hyder's army was defeated and scattered and retreated to Harpanahalli.

47. Nanda Raz was at Kasamala vadi; (2) where Hyder went to him and very humbly entreated pardon for the fault he had committed. Nandiraz pardoned him: they were entirely reconciled (3). Hyder said; the Seringapatam forces are now come: I will overthrow them and replace you on the throne and will remain obediently in your service. So saying he bound himself; (to obedience) and then drew up his own troops and those of Nandi Raj (for battle against the Seringapatam troops, (that is, the Mahrattas)

48. News of this reached the ruler of Seringapatam who thereupon came and halted at Mai-mal-vadi. Then Hyder and Nandi Raj took counsel together and addressed royal grants (Parwana) in the Raja's name, to the leading persons and the most esteemed officers in Seringapatam: (4) urging

them to make a prisoner of Khande Rao, and promising them rewards for so doing. They sent these letters into the army: where they fell into the hands of Khande Rao's guards who were utterly bewildered thereby. (5) Then the minister Vencati Ayya (6) and Barki Vencat Rao said to each other, it is not proper to remain here any longer, So at night they departed.

49. Hyder heard of this and pursued them with his army: the above said chiefs (7) (meaning this minister and Barki Vencat Rao) and others fled (8) to Seringapatam; but their infantry, artillery and stores fell into Hyder's hands. This victory greatly increased Hyder's army. (9)

50. Hyder remained there four or five days: he then left Nandi Raz there and carried his army into the neighbourhood of (Seringa) patam where he halted. He immediately made an attack upon Seringapatam, which he entered by the gate (10) where is the bridge built on pillars: there were many horse and foot near the fort and he plundered them all.

51. Khandeh Rao had sent to Errodu 2,000 horse and 2000 foot to keep the low country in check (1) but Hyder seeing that to keep the low landers quiet his own presence was necessary, resolved on plundering the said troops and ruining Khand Rao: so he marched down from the hills and seized on Errodu. He was engaged in this for fifteen days until (Vishu Phalguna) A.D. 1761. When he gained the Victory he seized on the officer employed by Khande Rao and took the army into his (IZN) hands and took possession (IZN) of all the low countries as far as Dingigal. He appointed his officers to rule the land: he made captives of the local commanders: and imprisoned them. Then he drew all his troops together and marched to Seringapatam and took up his camp at Shehr Ganjam.

52. Messages were not sent by the Kartar (3) and by

his ministers in Seringapatam, to Hyder: they ordered their own troops to refrain from all attack on Hyder: they also agreed to seize Khande Rao (4) and deliver him to Hyder: also to deliver to him all his realm and his army. The Kartar said give me lands for my own subsistence rated at two lacks of pagodas (per annum) and you are welcome to the rest. (1)

53. The Kartar then delivered Khandeh Rao into Hyder's hands: Hyder waited on the Karta; to whom the allotted lands were given over: then Hyder appointed Magdum Sahib Commandant of Seringapatam, giving him a garrison. Hyder seized Khandeh Rao put him in a cage (Finjreh) and imprisoned him in Bangalore. Hyder exacted from Khandeh Rao's servants all the revenue that was due. Then Hyder quitted Seringapatam and went to Bangalore.

54. The Mahrattas were garrisoned in Hossacota and were besieged by Basalat Jung to whom Hyder sent a message offering to pay him three lacks of Rupees accepting in payment the districts of Sireh. (2) A writing to this effect was delivered to Hyder who thereupon garrisoned Sireh which had hitherto been ruled by the Mahrattas. Then Basalat Jung departed to Adhoni. Great Balapoor was ruled by Abbas Kuli Khan as his jagger. He had formerly had a quarrel with Hyder; and (when he heard of this arrangement) he decamped to (Madduri) in Great Balapoor. (3)

55. Little Balapoor was held by a Baron (Zemindar) who had 12,000 men. He was attacked and his fort was besieged by Hyder: but the baron fortified his place and fought well, and many of Hyder's men were slain. The baron sent to request the aid of Murari Rao (Ghorpara, baron of Ghootti) who sent some troops to oppose Hyder. In the year Chitraban (A.D. 1762) Hyder opened his batteries upon that fort, beat off Murari Rao's troops, and

took several of his captains prisoners: whom he sent to the fort of Bangalore.

56. The baron (of little) Balapur) then came to terms with Hyder: and agreed to pay three lacks of pagodas (4) he gave (nishan) assignments for the money and then Hyder marched with his army to Devahalli where he pitched his camp. The baron (Paligar, meaning, of Little Balapoor) evacuated his fort with his garrison, and fled to Nandigada where Swami and Narayan Swami (5) were the chiefs: On hearing of this Hyder marched rapidly to Little Balapoor where he reinforced the garrison and then sent his troops to invade Murari Rao, whose troops still occupied the boundaries. These were routed, Murari Rao was defeated; and Hyder seized the villages of Kodiconda, Madaksira, Penagonda, and other places; which he garrisoned. Murari Rao could no longer withstand ~~xx~~ him and fled to Ghooty.

57. Hyder then placed Mir Ali Raza (Khan) to rule the Sireh District, and the lands of Murari Rao and Garramconda and all the places held by the Mahrattas. This happened in the year Chittrabhan (A.D. 1762) Hyder gave him four thousand horse and six thousand foot desiring him to conquer the rest of the Ghooty country and the fort of Nandigada. (6)

58. Then Hyder set out with 12,000 horse, 15,000 foot and artillery: he invaded Chitradurg (Chittledroog) Raidurgam, Harpanhalli and other places. These three towns were held by three opulent barons; who seeing that Hyder's forces were so great, submitted to him made terms (Khandani) and agreed to pay (peshcash) tribute at one lack of pagodas per annum: promising that they would give troops as auxiliaries in his army. These three then waited on Hyder and gave assignments (cheques) on bankers for the sum they agreed to pay: and brought their troops to serve as auxilliaris.

59. The town of Nagar originally called Bidnur was ruled by a prince now lately deceased. The queen his widow⁽⁷⁾ selected a boy whom she seated on the throne and the servants of the Government carried on business but their troops were weak and scattered in various places.

60. This was reported to Hyder, who was joined by the three (palegars) chieftains and by the (lad who being adopted by the raja was) rival (to the one adopted by) the queen. Hyder then set out to assault Nagar-Bidnoor: on entering the woods near that place his plunderers were - scattered in all directions. When he approached to the capital, the queen collected her valuables and set fire to them. Then she made her escape by a postern gate, and, accompanied by a few followers she went down the hills to Ballal Raja Durgam. a village forty miles distant. This happened in the year Chitrabhanu)A.D.1762) in the month Magha. (Note; the Canarese history in vol.754 dates it phalguna Bahula Amavasya) *γ*

61. Then Hyder with his army entered into the town of Nagar which was very extensive being three coss broad: it was full of great mansions inhabited by prosperous people who lived at ease; little dreading what fate and the will of heaven had in store for them. All the citizens, fled, leaving their wealth behind them, into the low countries. Then all the army assembled in the place and plundered many people. (1) They set fire to the raja's mansion. Hyder perceived this and caused the flames to be extinguished. All the gold, silver, jewels, cloths, vessels, and other goods found in the town, and in the houses of the public officers, he made over to the {Saraffs} money changers.

62. Then guards were set over the towns in the low country, as far as Codayal, (Mangalore) Baswa Raj Durg, and the rest: and in the hill country all the places subordinate

to Nagar were settled. Hyder raised twenty five thousand men to serve as guard over these places. Then Hyder sent a party to invite the queen to return to her home: he gave her assurances of safe conduct, and brought her into the town.

63. There was a boy named Gaibu Raj formerly living in the town of Bidnore; and at first, before the siege began, he came into Hyder's camp: and this man (2) was kept under (IZN permission or order) surveillance. Then when the town was conquered and the queen was caught, Hyder imprisoned this boy and the queen and her (raja) selected prince: sending all three to the fort at Badgiri. Then Hyder bestowed jewels and costly gifts and salaries on the Dalwai of Seringapatam and on the more respectable officers.(3) Next he appointed Vencetappa who was (Subedar) Captain, to command Bednore. (4) Then Hyder gave the office of Diwan with the command of Seringapatam to Vencut Rao of Dindigal; thus he settled (bandobust) the country and offered the revenues to be paid to (Sarcar) Government.

• • 64. • As there was great abundance of gold and silver, Hyder established (dar ul farb) a Mint at Nagar where in the year Swabhen(A.D.1763) he coined 'Hyderi huns' (gold pagodas and silver) Rupee and fanams: which bore the words 'Zarb-i-Nagar' i.e., 'Coined at Nagar'.(5) At Codyal (Mangalore) and Honnavar (Onore) he established workshops for building (Jahas) was ghurrah) ships and brigs: then he purchased some ships of war: and ordered them to be used both for trade and for warlike purposes (See. Wilks, I.454).

65. Thus he passed four months at Nagar(Bidnore): when the rainy season commenced Hyder was somewhat weak in health. At this time he ascertained the fact that the Dalwai and others had committed treachery(fituri) with the better classes, and the surrounding barons. This crime was proved

against three hundred men: all of whom he hanged along the road in front of Nagar.

66. Then (Hyder) sent part of his troops with Hybut Jung(6) i.e, Faz-ul-lah Khan to Siddeh(7) The troops having reached that place the baron (of Siddeh) fled with his wife and children with his wealth to Cowlgada where a garrison had already been placed by Hyder and all his wealth(left behind at Siddeh) was seized and appropriated.

67. After setting Nagar (Bednore) Hyder set out with his troops to Savanur and (Abdul) Kakim Khan(8) who ruled that place, came forth with his troops to give battle: but being unable to stand the shock, he returned to Savanur.(9). Then the ruler of Savanur sent a message asking terms: and agreed to pay a tribute of (300,000) three lacks of Rupees. This money(1) was delivered to Hyder who then taking Haibat Jung with him marched (North) as far as the river Krishna. Then he plundered the Mahratta country. At the fount of Dharwar he found a Mahratta ~~sumat~~ garrison: here, and at Mavalagund, at Nargunda Bancapur, Sirhatti, and elsewhere, he placed his troops as guards, and settled the country.

68. When the Peshwa (Regent Madhava Rao(2) heard of this, he marched with 60,000 horse and artillery: (3) he crossed the Krishna and proceeded Southwards and prepared for battle. When Hyder heard of this he was on this side(4) of Savanur, with his own army and that of Mir Ali Raza khan amounting to 20,000 horse, 30,000(piyada) match lockmen 20,000 (barh) musqueteers (5) and some artillery. He marched to Rattehalli (near Rane Bednore) where he encamped.

69. The Paishwa was encamped with his army(6) at Dharwar which he besieged for three months; the garrison then capitulated: after taking this place he continued his

his march against Hyder. On meeting, the cavalry on both sides skirmished daily. One day the entire Mahrata army advanced together and Hyder came forward to meet them: the battle lasted until evening: on both sides thousands of men fell, and horses and cannon were lost: with night fall the combat ended.

70. Hyder now considered that the Mahratta army was strong; and that it was not prudent to remain longer on the plain: so he shifted his ground to the woody country at Anavatti. The rainy season now commenced, and the Mahrattas huddled on the plain; daily there was some skirmishing.

71. When the rains terminated, the Mahratta chiefs prepared their forces, and at Anavatti they assaulted - (Hyder's) army; on this occasion (Hyder) lost 6000 foot and 2000 horse. (7) Vencat Rao Atar th~~e~~(divan) general (of the Mahrattas) with ten or twenty stout captains were slain (8) and some of the Peshwa's troops were made prisoners by Hyder. This happened in the month Margasira of the year Tarana (A.D 1764) Hyder then marched his army to the (Bednore) Nagar country. At this time the Peshwa's army was reinforced. (9) by the arrival of twenty thousand horse under the command of his uncle Raghunnath Rao who came from (their) home (at Poonah.)

72. Hyder then offered to come to terms which he proposed by means of a trustworthy commander. He agreed to pay thirty-two lacks (10) of Rupees as (Khandani) an amercement: and this sum he paid to the Peshwa who thereupon marched to his own country (Poonah.)

73. Hyder then dismissed the (Paligars) lairds (1) who were in his employ. He himself went to Nagar he sent home Mr. Ali Raza Khan (2) who marched to Wandigada where he

besieged the fort; and at last the Raja came to terms (cow) whereupon (Mir Ali Raza Khan) sent him a prisoner to Bangalore: after awhile he was again sent a prisoner to Coimbatore. (3) This happened in year Swabhan (A.D.1763)

74. Hyder remained in quarters at Nagar (Bednore) for the four rainy months. Then Chanda Saib's son Nawab Raza Ali Khan (4) fled from Pondicherry to (Kodiyal) Bunder (Mangalore) (5) whence he took ship and joined Hyder's camp. Here he was very kindly welcomed and was honored with a gift of land (Jagir) valued at one lac of Rupees (per annum)

75. Hyder now reviewed all his army; he made a (Maujudat) roll call of his troops of the line; arranging them (1) as first and second classes. He equipped them in - - wollen jackets and blue turbans. He raised a corps of two thousand Rajpoots whom he appointed to the scivels (jezail) and camel guns: he laid aside the old Arabian (Arbistan) musical instruments (2) called TASHA and MARFA and substituted drums according to the English (Firingi) mode. He also drilled (arasta) all the cavalry. He then sent Hybat Jang, with part of the troops, to exact tribute from the lairds (paligars) in the low countries. He also sent his son-in-law Lala Mian with troops to Baswapattam (about half way from Chittledroog westwards towards Ikery)

76. Hyder placed himself at the head of 12,000 muskets and 10,000 matchlockmen and three thousand horse. He marched down the hills to Codial (i.e. Mangalore) whence he (3) invaded Malabar (spelt Mc-le-var) He marched by the Nili-svar road to Monamur where he had an interview with Ali Raza (4) who gave him a large number of Mapillas (vulgarly Moplas) as a reinforcement. He marched along the sea-coast and fought his way through the Eyacal territory through Kota Agdi, Kadatanur and other places. (5)

77. The barons of the Nayrs (i.e. of Coorgs) opposed him. They were supported by 20 or 25,000 men: but not

being accustomed to war and never having beheld a (Mogul) Musulman army they were struck with amazement and horror at the sight: and could not stand their ground. They fled to the hills, woods and thickets; and took shelter: those who encountered the invaders were slain. Hyder captured the above said places erected forts and placed his garrisons therein: he arrived near Calicut (Kalli Kota) on (Vyaya Sams Chaitr Sudd Pratipat) 5th September A.D. 1766 (SS. 1788) (6)

78. The country of Calicut was ruled by Mana Vicrama Raja (7) who tried to make terms with Hyder; offering to visit him, if Hyder would swear (Sapatha) not to injure him. Hyder agreed: and thereupon the raja came, attended by 2,000 Nayrs. (8) When the interview took place: (Hyder) presented (the Raja's servants) with pearl necklaces, bracelets: and earrings: Hyder comforted and pacified them, and said, As soon as I arrive in Calicut I will ~~re~~ re-establish your hose. I required to be repaid the expenses of my - army (9) The king agreed to pay four lacks of Shanari Cass (400000 Venetian Sequins); see (Wilks 1,473) of which saidh I will at once pay 100000 and I will remain obedient to your wishes.

79. When this treaty was made Hyder proceeded with the king to Calicut: he placed the king apart, in a large temple. Hyder took up his quarters in a small quadrangular building. After a few days (Hyder) asked (the raja) for (the promised) money. The raja replied saying-- I will call my servants together and provide the money. The money however was not raised: (Hyder) therefore placed a guard and sentries over (the King) and used violent measures to extort the money from the servants. (Wilks. I. 477)

80. On hearing of this, the king despaired of escaping disgrace: he ~~there~~ therefore locked himself into his house,

and setting fire to it, he perished in the flames. (10) Hyder heard of this and sent many people to rescue him but it was in vain. Thereupon he imprisoned the king's servants and by severities he extorted various sums. Hyder fortified his own house with towers on which he mounted guns: here he remained one month; and established guards through the country. He appointed a trusty captain (11) to govern Calicut: and placed the revenues in the management of Murpapa Godappa. (Instead of this name the name in Wilks I.475, is Madana)

81. The rains now commencing, Hyder marched away by the Ponnani (1) route: by the violence of the rain many of the cavalry & c. perished. He marched rapidly to Paulghaut where a Collector named Itach (Eetcarah) Nair offered him all requisite supplies in abundance. Hyder was so well pleased that he placed the country in (this man's) hands requiring a (Khandni) tribute of 100000 Rupees. He then made an agreement with (the baron of) (Kochen Paleh) Cochin: (2) who agreed to pay 40,000 Pagodas yearly: and gave various bankers as his securities.

82. Then Hyder proceeded to Coimbetoor (3) and sent out the whole of his army to graze and forage (4) while he remained encamped for two or three months. The Nairs now laid a scheme with their chiefs and raised 20 or 30,000 men who began to plunder various places: they attacked (Hyder) garrisons (5) where they slew the guards. By reason of the excessive rains every stream was flooded and it was hard to pass from one place to another, or for one man to aid another.

83. On hearing of this, Hyder at once collected his infantry, with the camel guns, and the cavalry (6) halted as they were: he supplied them with provisions for a week, and advancing by rapid marches he sent out his troops and slew the Nairs (literally safkeea, cleaned them away) in

every place: those Nairs who fell into his hands were hanged by thousands: (7) he took men women and children, ten or fifteen thousand prisoners: whom he sent by thousands to lie captive in various parts of the (Seringa) patam country. The residue filled with dismay fled away, and others humbly submitted and prayed to be spared.

84. Hyder strengthened his rule in every place, establishing garrisons to prevent outbreaks. Then he took steps for building a fort at Palgatcheri. He entered Coimbatore and rewarded those who had served him well, with bracelets, jewels, and increased salaries. Mohammad Ali Khan's elder brother Mahfuz Khan arrived from Hyderabad: he was sent by Nizam Ali Khan to present Hyder with (mahimaratib) the 'Fish banner' (8) and a complimentary epistle. Hyder rewarded the bearer with a (jageer) territory valued at 100,000 Rs.

While Hyder was at Naggar, he wished to raise troops at Nagpore and Jagadevaghur: he took council (9) with Rang Rao: to whom he gave ten lacks of Rupees and sent him to raise recruits.

86. Ranga Rao then visited a trustworthy officer who was under the orders of Kesava Raja Bahadur: the (diwan) deputy of Bhonsla; and gave him a sum of money: to raise 4000 cavalry: his force arrived at Coimbatore in the year Vyaya (A.D. 1766) and was received by Hyder; who rewarded them with elephants and jewels and other gifts: then he mustered these troops and appointed them respectable salaries. Part of (these) troops he employed on the spot, in Calicut: the remainder he joined to his own army, and marched by the Gonkullu pass to Seringapatam where he arrived in the month Magha of the year Vyaya (A.D. 1766) (10)

87. Krishna Rajwadiar king of Srirangapatam died (in April 1766. Wilks I.478) Six or seven months before his death he had placed his son Nanda Raja (Wadiar) on the throne. (Hyder) had an interview with him (11) and presented gifts: then Hyder returned to his army. (12)

MEMOIRS OF HYDER ALI BAHADUR AND

OF HIS SON

T-I P P O O S U L T A N,

BOOK II.

Comprising the last twenty years. A.D.1766-1781

~**~~***~***

1. Mir Ali Raza Khan(1) had taken up his lodging at Sireh with 4000 horse and 6000 foot. And the Peshwa Madhava Rao made a sudden march to Siereh bringing seventy or 80,000 horse with him: he arrived in the month Magha in the year Vyaya (A.D.1766). A battle ensued: and as Mir Ali Raza) Khan was off his guard he was beaten (2) and went over to the enemy: thus he was received into the Mah-ratta army at Kolar. (3)

On hearing of this, Hyder sent his entire forces (4) to them in (Madhoo Rao) at Kolar: (5) and began to capture his cavalry: Hyder kept his head quarters at Seringa-patan where he prepared more infantry and artillery. The Mahratta leader employed Mir (Ali Raza Khan) Sahib (6) in his service: placing him as governor over the lands of Madgiri, Chenna Roy Durg, Gurram-conda, and Murari Rao's country: he took all this into his hands, planting garrisons: and (the Peshwa) gave the lands of Gurram conda as a (Jagir) fief to (Mir Ali Raza)Khan. He also placed garrison in Kolar and Hoskota in the Seringapatam country and Great Balapoor &c.

Hyder now saw that Mir Saheb (meaning Mir Ali Raza Khan) had fallen into the Peshwa's hands. Hyder there

came to terms (7) with the Paishwa. By means of Appaji Rao, Vakeel he agreed to pay twenty-eight lacs of Rupees to the Paishwa: (8) this sum he paid to the Paishwa's bankers: then the Peshwa made over the fort of Kollur to Hyder; and the forts of Sira, Madgiri, Great Balapoor, Hos-cota &c. were garrisoned by the Paishwa (9) and he then marched his army towards his home (at Poonah.).

The Nizam and Dowla Bahadar set out (10) with his army (from Hyderabad) and entering the Seringapatam territory he halted at (Maddhur)Chenapetam. At this time Hyder was told that Nandi Raz (Saradhicari) Head of the state, who commanded the Mysore army had desired the Mahrattas to intercede on his behalf with the Nizam, (Literally with the Moguls). Hereupon Hyder set out from (Seringa)patam, went to Mysore and spoke to (Nandi) Raz saying, it is not advisable that you should remain here: your head quarters (Samsathan) being at (Seringa) patam, it is best that you -- should come and reside in that fort.(c1).

2. Nandi Raz replied, I will come if you will give me assurances of safety and will suffer all my people to remain with me: and will allow me to have all the honours I now enjoy. Hereupon Hyder desired Khak-i-Shah Faquir, and Ghalib Mohammad Khan (who was the brother of Hybut Jung) to tie up a bundle of plank papers in a cloth and to assert that this contained the Koran. (2) Upon this bundle Hyder took his oath: whereupon Nand Raja believed him and came to Seringapatam.

3. On the third day Hyder cast into separate prisons (3) all (Nandi Raj's) followers and clerks and officers: he placed a strict guard over (Nand) Raj's doors and called on the clerks to pay a certain sum (as ransom) which they paid. If having learnt that some of the captives were kinsmen of

of the Rajah he gave them employ as Talloockdars, on a salary to each of one thousand moons (4) per annum?). The guard was continued at Nand Raj's gate.

4. Nizam ud Dowla had taken up his quarters at (Bacdduri) Chenapatam. The (diwan) minister named Rukn ud Dowla (5) Bahadar; likewise Munawar Khan (the Nabob of Kurnool) and also Raja Chander with other chiefs arrived at (Serings)patam where they were received by Hyder with great splendour and hospitality, bestowing gifts on them. He entered into a strict alliance with Nizam ud Dowla and presented offering of six lacks (6) of rupees to him by his son Tippoo Sultan to Chenapatam to wait on the Nizam: being accompanied by Hybur Jung Raja Ali Khan, Mehruz Khan and other chiefs, with their troops they waited on the Nizam and presented him with horses, elephants, jewels &c. The Nizam received Tippoo Sultan's visit and he bestowed on Tippoo the title (7-8) of "Nawab-Fateh-Hyder Ali-Khan-Bahadur." This happened in the month Ashadha. year Sarvajit (that is 24th July A.D. 1767; or AH. 1181).

5. Hyder requested a positive promise from Nizam Ali Khan. He said the English army has marched to Caveri patnam, and extended their posts to the Seringapatam limits; I propose that your army and mine should punish them, and seize Arcot which should then be put into my (Hyder's) hand.

6. On receiving this reply Tippoo returned to his father. Hyder marched with his army from (Serings) patam and accompanied the Nizam to Bangalore: thence they proceeded to Caveri-patam where they attacked the English forces with artillery for five or six days and they beat the English (9).

They expelled the garrison, depriving them of their arms and horses and placed their own troops to secure it.

7. The English commandant halted with his army about

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about 4 coss 8 miles from (Caveri) patam. Hyder sent his troops to assault them on all sides, and there were skirmishes wherein some (English) horse-men fell into his hands. (10) The English leaders now took counsel, and seeing that their force was the weaker they retreated by the Tiruna mali route. Hyder pursued them with twenty thousand horse commanded by Ruknat ud Doula who was diwan (minister) to Nizam Ali Khan; he followed at their heels (ta-acub) as far as Chang-mavan-dikk (11) The next day there was a severe fight wherein Hyder lost many men. The English army proceeded as far as Tirunamalie. (12).

8. Hyder passed beyond Tirunamalie and opened the batteries: the fight last for a week, the English then sent a reinforcement to the besieged. Then Hyder withdrew his batteries (morcha) and retreated three coss (6 miles): and the English halted beyond Pola chiccu'dhepte. And Hyder with Niza Ali Khan's troops came within one coss of them to offer battle.

9. Then Hyder sent his son Tippoo Sultan with ten thousand horse (1) ordering them to go through Aroct as far as Chenapatam (Madras, Fort St. George) and plunder all the country. (2) After four or five days there was a severe battle between Hyder and the English, and many were slain on both sides. At last (Hyder) being unable to stand the attack any longer, both armies (Hyder's and the Nizam's) turned and fled from Tirunamalie by the Seringapatam route to Coimbatoor where they encamped for one month. On the day of the battle all the Nizam's Artillery were captured by the English. (3)

10. Hyder never having yet paid a visit to Niza Ali Khan, now went to wait upon him; who bestowed on Hyder costly gifts, of horses and elephants. Next day Hyder invited the Nizam to his tent: and prepared a (chadustar; error for chabutur

chabutar) pile of one lack of rupees as a throne for the Nizam to sit on, this he presented to the Nizam and offered him horses and elephants and jewels, and so dismissed him to his home.(4).

11. Hyder now determined on marching thence by the road of Ammurgada (5) and settled that the Nizam should remain beyond Caveriputrum, keeping all the bahir) camp followers in the rear guard.

12. Hyder now set out with the Diwan (Rukun ud Doula) and marched his forces to Vanambadi where was an English battalion as (thana) and advanced guard: then he took prisoners, stripped them of their arms and let them go free. At Ammurgada the principal English force was encamped: and Hyder - placed his guns to attack them on two or three sides (dated 10th November 1767. Wilks, 2. 43).

13. Tippoo Sultan returned from plundering the country about Madras (6) and found much difficulty in rejoining Hyder's army, as the battle at Amur fort (Amboor) was beginning. The English had marched to Chenapatam (Madras) and returned with reinforcements: on hearing of this Hyder broke up his batteries and marched to Vanambadi (Wilks. 2.48) while the English arrived at Amurgur whence they marched to Vanambadi and that day (8th December 1767) a battle took place (7) wherein many fell on both sides.

14. Hyder then marched to Cavaripatan and sent his camp followers up the mountains. He suspected that in their hearts Niza Ali and the English were firm (friends): (8) he therefore sent a message to Nizam Ali by Hybut Jung, saying I recommend you to return home (to Hyderabad) and I will either make war or peace (9) with the English, as I think best. (10) The Nizam) then took leave and marched through Kadapa (Turpa or Cuddapa.)

15. The English army was encamped near Caveripatam (11) and Hyder resolved on giving them battle. He pitched his tents (pal) for the purpose. At this time the English Commander Colonel (Oot) (12) would march to that place with stores, (rasd) by the Singarpet-pass. And on hearing of his approach Hyder (on the date Sarvajit Margasira May 1768) took a small body of horse (chariswari) and attacked the English: (13) but as he was not successful Hyder retreated to Teggedi cota (vulgarly Tingricotta) and thence marched to Dharmapuri.

16. The English army left Caveripatam and on receiving the reinforcement that came by the Singarpet pass, they marched back through that pass. Then Hyder placed at Dharmapuri twelve hundred sepoys, who had woollen coats (kumly coorte) and went on through the Huli Durgam Pass (1) to Bangalore. Meantime the (English) army marched from Bombay; captured Codiyaal Bandar (Mangalore); and also raised trouble in these parts: on hearing of this, Hyder sent forward a part of his army under the command of Tippoo Sultan, to March to Mangalore.

17. The English army then returned back towards Serinapatam, into the Dharmapuri country (afterwards denominated Salem; that is, Shellam) where an action took place at the fort with artillery and many were slain. At last (the English troops) took that fort by storm; in this action the army (of Hyder) was with its leaders, much broken. The English also conquered the Baramahl: and surrounded the fort of Krishnagiri. Then (tukri-e) the division commanded by Colonel Wood prepared to place garrisons in Shellam and other places in the plains (2) (Talgnat)

18. Being thus checkmated on both sides, (3) Hyder took counsel; he selected three Captains, and sent one of those named Lala Mian with three thousand horses to attack Colonel

wood in the plains: he sent Makdoom Ali with five or six thousand horse to attack the English force lying at Krishnagiri: and he sent the third, Hybat Jang, to defend (hifazat) the districts about Bangalore.

19. Hyder himself took some troops and marched to Kudiyal (Mangalore) and also sent various captains in different directions giving among them one lack of Rupees to raise recruits: (4) whom he directed to come to Bangalore. His army increased daily in horse and foot. Hyder arrived at (Kudiyal)Mangalore where Tippoo Sultan was. (5) They smote Mangalore, seized the fort, made captives (6) of the inhabitants and established their garrisons in the place. These operations occupied three or four months.

20. Meantime the English garrisoned Krishnagiri and overran all the Lowlands (Talghat) as far as Dindigul where they established a position (thana) and the whole army, now very strong were quartered at Colar under the orders of Mohammad Ali Khan (the Walajah) and Colonel Smith. Meanwhile (7) Murari Rao (of Gooty) also marched to support (them) and pitched his army (8) near Hossacota.

21. On hearing of this, (Hyder) marched (9) from Mangalore (Kodiyal): he came by the Magadi route, to Bangalore where he assembled all his forces: and also recalled the detachment which had gone to Calicut and had been assaulted by the Nairs: who now possessed all that country. At Bangalore he reviewed all his army and when he had called in all the detachments from various points he mustered the following force. Eighteen thousand horse: twenty thousand infantry: twelve thousand (Carnatac) militia, with four thousand pioneers and the like: he had fifty pieces of artillery.

22. Having made all ready he sent a detachment under Hybut Jung to seize Dindigul, Madura and Tinnevely countries. Hyder himself made a sudden night march from Bangalore and reached Hosskota where he attacked Murari Rao's camp at night: in this assault he slew many and plundered the camp of horses and goods. (10) Murari Rao himself was wounded and fled. Hyder then returned to Bangalore.

23. After four or five days he placed Ibrahim Sahib with a small force as commandant of Bangalore with Tippoo Sultan: and leaving his heavier baggage here marched with his forces, horse and foot to Mysore where he encamped. The English army was now advancing with a strong park of artillery; wherefore he suddenly attacked (the English) and seized their artillery. Then he marched to Maloor (11) where he encamped. General Smith was encamped between Kolar and Deonhally and was hemmed in (narga-houn) by Hyder's cavalry: and was even distressed for grass and firewood. Then Hyder began to open his guns at Kolhar upon Mohammad Ali Khan.

24. Hereupon Mohammad Ali Khan(1) being at a loss how to act sent a message to the English: and Smith came with his troopes to Kolhar. As (Hyder's) troops harrassed those who came and went between the armies Mohammad Ali Khan and (Colonel) Smith resolved on returning to ('Chenapatan'), Madras.

25. (Colonel Smith) therefore deposited all his warlike stores at Kolhar leaving Colonel Long to guard them: and marched with Mohammad Ali Khan and descended into the lowlands. (2) Hyder's army marched to Mulbagal where a battle took place between his army and that of the English and many were slain on each side. Then the English left a force in the (Talghat) lowlands and marched with their army to 'Bandar'

'Bandar' (Probably meaning Mohammad Bandar: this, Porto Novo.)

26. The fort of Gurram-conda was garrisoned by the Mahrattas commanded by Mir Raza Ali Khan (3) whom Hyder wished to get upon his own side: Hyder therefore encamped at Madanpalli: whence he sent a message to Mir Raza Ali Khan by the hands of Ali Zaman Khan. Hyder gave him (the Mir) strong assurances of friendship, binding his promises with oaths: and thus (the Mir) was induced to (descend from the hill fort at) Gurramconda: and an interview took place: Hyder pardoned the fault he had formerly committed (4) and confirmed him in the command of the Gurramconda country. Then he planted a guard at this fort ('gurrh mazcur') and entrusted it to Mir Raza Ali Khan. Then as the English had placed their troops (at certain villages) in the (Seringa) Patam - country and in the Baramahl he took these places and then marched by the Shelam road.

27. The (English) quitted (5) the lowlands, and (and English) captain was proceeding with some troops from Errodu ('I'ror') and marching towards Caroor (6). Hyder appeared in their front and slew many of them. He captured (the village of) Iror (7) and marched to Karoor where Abdar Khan with Mirza Bakir and others on the side of the English were caught by Hyder's troops.

28. Hyder next marched to Seringam (8) and to Tirchinapalli and then after plundering (Chandavar) Tanjore country and ruined (fust keca) he reached Tanjore. The baron of that place sent a message to entreat peace: presenting (to Hyder) four excellent elephants and four lacks of Rupees: thus he redeemed his country and (Hyder) then marched to Pondicherry.

29. Here he had an interview with the French Governor (9) and then proceeded to Arcot: (10) he plundered that district and in the year Sarvadhari (A.D. 1768) he arrived at (Chennapatam), Madras.

30. Hyder halted his army (4 or 5 gorw) thirty or forty miles from General Smith. Hyder made a sudden descent upon Madras: (11) which fort was commanded by Governor (Doobur) Dupre (12) who sent a messenger to make terms. Both sides saw the prudence of making peace. It was stipulated that the English should relinquish all the districts which they had taken from Hyder and that the dependants of Chanda Sahib the Nawayet (13) as well as the (Jagirdars) landholders in Arcot as many as he had ever captured should all be let go. Such were the terms agreed to by the English. On his part Hyder agreed to release all the prisoners he had made, and decided that peace should be maintained between the two powers.

31. When peace was thus made and Hyder with his army marched (west) beyond the Deccan (what). All the prisoners made by Hyder, when he conquered Colonel Long at Kol-laroo, and all the people captured in the war were restored to the said Colonel (Long.) This Colonel returned with the released prisoners and those delivered to him, and as much of his war-like stores as he had means to transport: he abandoned the remaining stores at Kol-laroo, and departed.

32. Hyder afterwards collected these articles and had them conveyed (1) from (Col-la-ru) Collar to Bangalore. He halted his troops at Collar for a time and settled the country: he issued pay and allowances (tankha) to his army. Then he took Tippoo Sultan with him and marched from Bangalore to Cuddapah and exacted from Halim Khan (the Subadar commands of that place) two lacks of Rupees. Thence Hyder marched to

to Kurnool and exacted three lacks of rupees from Munavvar Khan(Nabob of that place) and proceeded to Gadwa; he exacted tribute &c. from the palegars and (zemindars) lairds and then he exacted sums from the petty lairds near Gootty.

33. Murari Rao, Ghorpare of Gooty now waited upon Hyder; and presented him horses and elephant &c, and Hyder in return bestowed on him an elephant and a (sir-o-pao) suit of clothes: and parted from him very kindly. (2) Hyder next visited the laird of Bellary (a towndependant on Adhoni) and desired him to pay tribute: which he refused: Hyder therefore besieged and assaulted his fort: but failed of taking it. Hyder therefore accepted his promises to pay tribute, and marched to Madag Matur.

34. In the year Virodhi (3)(A.D.1769)Madhava Rao the Peshwa invaded the country of Seringapatam with 60 or 70,000 horsemen. On hearing of this Hyder proceeded by the road of Tarkeri to Seringapatam with a small force leaving Tipuoo and Mirsahib (4) to remain at Mahil-banda to watch around the Mahrattas: who he ordered them to attack.

35. The Paiswa marched to the (gurh) forts on the limits of Kadur and Banavar and he placed detachments at these places, at Great Balapoor, Nandigarh, Colar (5) and other places. Then he marched to Nizgal. He swept the country - clean (tarazkiya). At Nizgal there was one Sardar Khan who had three thousand 'Youngmen' (Jawan). The Peshwa besieged his fort and many of the besiegers fell. The Peshwas younger brother Narayan Rao was wounded by a ball while in battery. When the Peshwa Madhava Rao heard of this he assembled all his forces and took the hill fort by storm(date 1st May 1770 - according to Wilks, 2. 137.)

36. He liberated those who were wounded: but he

he cut off the ears of all the rest and let them go. He took Surdar Khan (6) Prisoner. As (Narayan) Rao was wounded Hyder sent him no message to request peace.(7).

37. The Peshwa therefore sent (Tryambac Rao) Mama (8) to remain in (ch haoni) garrison at Gurramconda with thirty or forty thousand horse. Then the Peshwa and his - brother marched away. When the rainy season ended (Triambac Rao). Mama surrounded the fort at Gurramconda. In this fort was Syed Saheb, nephew (bhatija) to Mir Saheb.¶ But after a siege of three months)9) they came to terms by means of - (Morari) Rao. The fort was surrendered with the Gurramconda country around it.

38. (Hyder,) at Seringapatam heard of this and immediately collected his forces he prepared warlike stores and was about to set forth. At that time(Triambac)Mama set forth from Gurramconda and marched to Balapoor (10) Wilks,2. 138.) A detachment from the Bangalore division of Hyder's army was sent to Balapoor: where it arrived: and while it was encamped there it was suddenly destroyed by Tryambac Mama's forces. Then Tryambac marched to Hutteri Droog.

39. Hyder then marched from (Seringa)petam and went to the town of Nagadi with 12,000 horse 15,000 foot 10,000 militia (11) (lit.Karnatic piadas) and forty guns. He arrived there in the month Magha of the year Virodhi(12) A.D.1769). Then the Mahratta (army) turned to (march towards Madduri)Channapatnum, and so passed on to Melcota. The baggage was pursued by Hyder's horsemen who slew some(of the Mahrattas) and took some of them prisoners. At Melcota one or two battles took place. Then Hyder thought it best to remain there no longer: so he set out by night and marched rapidly towards Seringapatam.(13). When the Mahrattas heard of this they pursued Hyder with their whole force and came up

with him near Tonnur (1) where they hemmed him in (5th March

1770 See Wilks, 2. 144)

40. Here a running fight took place with musquetry and cannon, for two or three coss. Out of about ten or five thousand Mahratta horsemen four or five chiefs fell. Tryambac Mama too was wounded by a bullet. Then (the Mahrattas) made a charge of twenty or twenty five thousand horse at once near to Chiraca-horli (2) where Hyder's entire army was beaten, and many chiefs fell. Among these was Gholam Ali Khan, general of the cavalry; and Ali Zaman Khan, and Mir Ali Raza Khan and other noble leaders. These fell (3) into the hands of the Mahrattas: while Narain Rao of the Infantry and Lala Mian (Hyder's son-in-law) were done for. (i.e. were killed) (Wilks 2. 144). (4)

41. (Hyder) retreated to Seringapatam: accompanied by Hyder Jung and Tippoo Sultan, with Barki Sri Nivas Rao and others having with him two or three thousand horse and two or three thousand foot; leaving behind him his camp and artillery cattle and stores, all of which fell into the hands of the Mahrattas. After being thus worsted Hyder rallied his troops, and distributed among them money, clothing and arms: in eight days he was provided with four thousand horse eight thousand foot and military stores. (Wilks 2. 148).

42. Then the Mahrattas remained for eight or ten days quiet at the hill of Errodu (5) near (Seringa) patam. Here Hyder attacked them with heavy artillery and daily made incursions against them. For one month the batteries of the Mahrattas played upon the fort. But at last they saw that the garrison would not listen to terms, the fort being very strong. The Mahrattas plundered all the surrounding villages wherein they set their garrisons. They passed a year in these acts and 'bled' (6) the country as far as the boundaries

of Salem in the low lands, Sanca ragiri, Dharapoor and the rest.

43. Hyder daily recruited his army and three or four times he thrashed the Mahrattas (taubih) soundly. (7) He sent Tippoo Sultan: and Barki Sri Nivas Rao and other chiefs to way lay and seize the stores and money on their way to the Mahratta camp. These supplies were seized while coming along the Galwadi road. They made prisoners of about a thousand or five hundred of the escort with abundance of supplies, and some treasure which they carried off to Naggar (Bednoor.)

44. Orders were then sent to Tippoo Sultan to remain at Nagar (Bednoor). News being now received that Triambac Rao had got orders to settle the affair quickly and return (to Poonah). On learning of this, through Murari Rao and Appaji Rao the vakeel, Hyder agreed to make peace, if the sum of twenty-five lacks (8) of rupees were paid him. Of this sum twelve lacks were to be paid down in money and six lacks were to be made good in elephants and jewels: and Soma Setti, a banker's agent was given as Security for seven lacks: this agent being made over as a pledge by Hyder to the Mahrattas. Then the Mahratta army set out to march to Poonah.

45. Mir Saled and Gholam Ali Khan and other of Hyder's chieftains, fifteen in all, had been made prisoners by the Mahrattas: all these were released. This agreement being completed in the year Nandana (A.D.1772) the Mahrattas returned these men to Serangapatam. Hyder then (1) bestowed on his men money, jewels, lands and rewards of every kind: and his army was continually increasing in number.

46. After a year elapsed Hyder began to meditate the invasion of the Coorg country, having long borne ill-will to the king of the Coorg(Kodugu). (2) He conquered that country and placed his garrison in the capital named (Madikera) Mercara. Under this king there was twelve (Baranad zamindar) barons (3) whom Hyder left undisturbed in their dominions and grati-

fied them with money, horses and jewels. He then levied some money and returned to Seringapatam.

47. The Nayrs ~~had~~ ^{had} risen(4) upon Hyder's garrisons(on the arrival of the English at Callicut See para and rescued their lands. Hyder therefore sent this year Barki Sri Nivas Rao(5) and Syed Sahch with troops to resume these districts: they established garrisons throughout the country of Calicut and reduced it to obedience. (6).

48. In the '7) year Jaya(A.D.1774) the Coorg King, named Devaya made his escape and remained hidden in Basava Patnam (between Chittul Droog and Ikery.) They traced him, caught him, and sent him to Seringapatam where he was fettered and imprisoned. (8)

49. Hyder(9) now sent Ali Zaman Khan as his messenger to Madras, in the year Vijaya[A.D.1775] (10) he was the bearer of jewels and other gifts which he was to present to Govardhan Dass, and to Mohammad Ali Khan (the Walajah) and to his son. They arrived and waited upon (the Walajah) with whom they remained four or five months. Then the Walajah dismissed them with valuable gifts and sent them back to Hyder at Seringapatam. Along with them he sent Mir Faith Ali Khan and Mir Baqir. They were received honorably by Hyder who after four or five Months dismissed them to return home, g bestowing horses, elephants and jewels upon them and gave them a present of jewels, horses and elephants which were to be delivered to Mahammad Ali Khan and his son.(All this is unmentioned by Wilks.)

50. (Hyder) imprisoned Vissaji Pant (11) the Vakeel ambassador) of the Mahrattas who was then present at (Maddur) Cenapatam. For he heard that Madhava Rao the Peswha had died in the year Jaya (1775) and this seemed to be a fitting time for recovering the lands of Sira Madgiri and Chenn Roy Droog and Guram conda usurped by the Mahrattas. He therefore sent Tippoo Sultan with a force of horse and foot to seize and garrison these and other towns. Tippoo seized

seized Sireh etcetera and besieged Gurramconda. In four or five months he recovered all the country from the hands of the Mahrattas.(12).

51. Hyder then marched from Seringapatam to Bangalore: he took Hossacota and Great Balapoor in his own hands (from the Mahrattas) Tippoo joined Hyder's army bringing up his own force. Then the united army marched to Seringapatam. Here they purchased many horses for the Cavalry: enlisting good troopers and (larger) Regular Cavalry: whom he trained well.

52. He now learnt that Basalat Jung had laid siege to Bellary: (13) Hyder instantly went by forced night marches to that place. Basalat Jung's (diwan) Bhoja Rao had with him Lilly the French (general) and 4000 or 5000 infantry: with some Europeans. All this force was conquered by Hyder in a four hours' battle, and he routed them: the diwan was slain and Lilly with a few horsemen made his escape. (Wilks 2,163).

Hyder now garrisoned Bellary (14) and marched to Advani (Adhoni) where he levied (one lakh of rupees) one hundred thousand pagodas from (him) Basalat Jung. Hyder had learnt (1) that Narayan Rao, the new Paishwa had been slain at Poona: some months before and that Raghunath Rao, his successor on the throne, had marched Southwards, and crossed the Krishna with his forces.

53. (Visaji) Pantu (2) hereupon sent "Tiggil Shaum Rao" and Vencappaya the premier (pradhan) as messengers to Raghunath Rao: He received them kindly: and in sending them back they were accompanied by the Peshwa's brother-in-law Baji Rao "Barveh" and 1500 horse: (3) they came to visit Hyder: who gave them gifts and lodged them near him. (Wilks 2, 160) Strimunt Raghunath Rao and (Bara Bhai) the Twelve Brethren(4) (or "Confederacy" Wilks) and quarrelled and in consequence -

Raghunath Rao Proceeded to Hindustan, Baji Rao Barve being unable to come remained with Hyder.

54. The Coorgman (Koduguwala i.e. the Rajah) having been again rebellious (Hyder) punished him and hanged the more eminent men: (5) having thus settled the country Hyder appointed the leading man Raja of Great Coorg and established therein a garrison of troops under a Commandant. Thence he marched to Chitra-durg (Chittledroog) Raj Durgam, and Harpoonhalli, where he levied three or four years arrears from the (poligars) lairds: whom he took along with him adding their troops to his own. (Wilks, 2.161).

55. In the year Manmatha, (i.e., A.D. 1775) Hyder determined on sending Shah Nur Ulla, (6) the governor of Nagar a man of high rank, as his ambassador to Iraun (Persia) (?) by his hands Hyder sent jewels, an elephant, a palankeen, and other presents comprising all curiosities foreign to Persia: these were embarked on a ship: and he also sent some of his servants to raise troops (in Persia.).

56. The ambassador Shah Noor Ullah arrived in Persia and was honorably received by Karim Khan, the king, who as a compliment sent 30,000 or 10,000 horses to escort him to the presence. They duly presented the gifts which were well received in pomp and the bearer was treated with great homage: the king exchanging presents with him, and sending several viziers as his (vakeel) ambassador, with his present and Persian horses to Hyder. In returning the ambassadors' ship arrived at (Codyal) Mangalore and he proceeded by the Nuggur road. This was in the year Durmukhi. (A.D. 1776).

57. Hyder was at Seringapatam, where the ambassadors now arrived, and saw him: bringing with them about one - thousand Moguls (Kullah Posh) wearing black caps to be his

his soldiers whom he entertained as his cavalry: and gave them various posts. The more respected of those who came with them were presented with jewels and money. In dismissing the Persian ambassadors he presented them with 2500 (Shanari cass) gold coins that they should procure more - troops and sending suitable vakee with the vakeel of Karim Khan he sent them by sea from Mangalore to go to (Iran) Persia.

58. But the Ship was driven back by countracy winds (8) and wrecked near Cochin: where most of those on board - lost their lives: a few native Sailors reached Seringapatam while all the wealth fell into the hands of the people of the coast. [9] The ambassadors travelled from thence to Soorut Bundar (Surat) whence they went home to (Persia) their own land.

59. Hyder had proceeded to besiege Morari Rao at Gootty.(10). This was in the year Manmatha (A.D.1775).

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The fort held out for two or three months when Morari Rao came to terms Hyder ordered that he should not be brought into the camp. He was thereupon sent a prisoner to Seringapatam with his wife and children.(11) All his goods were made overt to ("the Sincer") Hyder, Lands valued at - twelve lacks of Rupees fell into Hyder's hands. He with his army returned to Seringapatam where they remained six or seven months. The force at the time was 8000 horse 20,000 foot - 12,000 (peadas): fifty (Zarhi-top) cannon.. Every day the various corps were augmented. Meantime Morari Rao was sent a prisoner to Gopala Durgam.(1).

60. Panduranga Rao who was brother of Parasa Ram Bhao 'of mirjee'(2) Also Sivaram Bhao,)3) was Morari Rao's (palaca) foster son and also the son of Swabhan Rao, ruler of 'Gajandra gada'. These chiefs came with 20,000 horse into the

the neighbourhood of Darwar(4). Hyder hearing of this sent 5000 horse and 10,000 foot under the command of Mohammad Ali 'Commandant'. But the Mahratta horse would not give him battle: the Peshowa's troops (that is to say the Mahratta - force) were lying on the other side of Darwar, and they fled: they were pursued by Hyder's horse for three koss (six miles) in which many were slain: all their (Sawaris) conveyances elephants and artillery amounting to 2000 horse fell into Hyder's hands. He sent them prisoners to Seringapatam: It was a - glorious victory for Hyder's troops. Hyder rewarded the "Commandant" (Kumandan) and his troops with lands and other bounties.

61. Ibrahim Khan, (5) Zabir-i-Dowlah (who is called Dhounsa, ruler of Nirmal) being in the employ of Nizam Ali Khan came with 10 or 12,000 foot, and 10,000 horse and cannons, and warlike stores: he took up a position near Cootty. Hyder hearing of this made a forced march (Kooch) from Seringapatam in the year Durumukhi (A.D. 1776) and rapidly arrived at Cootty but the Dhounsa (dahshat khatoon) being daunted broke up from his camp and fled to his country.

62. Hyder was informed that the baron (poligar) of Chidra durg (Chittledroog) was a stout captain (6) and had a good band of men, Hyder thereupon laid a plan against him: he summoned that Baron's enemies the Barons of Raidurgam(7) and Harponahalli to burst his gates: he took them along with him and marched to the neighbourhood of (Chitra durgam) Chittledroog. The baron of this fort had assembled 15,000 Beders, and 3000 horse; with military supplies and provender. He had also many other strong fortresses.

63. Hyder with some difficulty prepared batteries and the cannonade began: but the batteries of the besieged were well served and daily many men on both sides fell. The

siege lasted three months (8) and Hyder collected much money as plunder round about. Two thousand of the Beder men were taken prisoners. (9).

64. At this time (10) Hari Pant Pharkey and the gallant Manaji Phakra (11) with 30,000 or 40,000 {Mahratta} horsemen crossed the Krishna and (as Hyder now heard) marched into Anegondi. The baron of Chittledroog had agreed to pay Hyder thirteen lacks of Rupees: but having neglected paying this sum (Wilks 2 182) to evade payment he fled. As the - Mahrattas were drawing near, Hyder thought it imprudent to keep up his batteries: he removed them, and set out with his army to assault the Mahrattas.

65. At this time Raghunath Rao and his brother-in-law (12) Baji Rao Barve (see paragraph 53) who accompanied Hyder was desired by Hyder to seduce Manaji by bribes: Manaji agreed to take a bribe of six lacks: and accordingly he promised to come over to Hyder in the hour of battle with ten thousand horse. Baji Rao wrote to Manaji and got an answer from him. Then Hyder marched to give battle to Hari Pant at Raravi a village on this side of Anegondi on the banks of the Tungabhadra. Then Hyder and Baji Rao came forward to speak with Manaji. (1) The place appointed for meeting was at the village of Raravi on this side of Anagondi, and on the banks of the Tungabhadra (Toombuddra.)

66. Here their forces were confronted (Mokabila). Manaji's ten thousand horse stood aloof waiting their opportunity to come over to Hyder while camel couriers (2) were going backwards and forwards with messages between them. (Wilks 2, 184) Hari Pant now suspected the plot and accordingly he seized upon Manaji's cavalry and bore them across the Krishna, placing them six coss beyond the other side: where he hemmed in Manaji with his guards.

76. At that moment Manaj-Phakra was setting out to cross (the river) with 200 horse, but he was pursued (by Hari Pant

Parkey) and several of his men were slain, Manaji himself being wounded: but with thirty horse he escaped across the river and joined Hyder. (Wilks 2. 185) Hari Pant retired and plundered all the goods found in (Manaji's) camp and seized upon his wife and dependents whom he cast into prison with all he had.

68. Hari Pant now began to think that this was not a fitting year for laying sieges; and finding that the most respectable chief of his army (i.e. Manaji) whom he had trusted, was treacherous, he set off at rapid rate homewards.

69. (Manaji (3) was received very kindly by Hyder; who bestowed on him an elephant, horses, tents and every thing he could want: comforted him and kept him at hand.

70. Hyder now returned to (Chitra)droog which he besieged closely: the brothers and kin of (Barma Naick the Beder) baron of that fort (4) were daily wounded: (the baron) had two or three thousand Moslems, cavalry, who betrayed their trust and came over to Hyder: this rendered the baron desperate. He therefore sent a message demanding terms; and mounting his palankeen he came over to (Hyder's) army (5). Hyder gave him a tent but kept a strict guard over him. The baron's wife and children were now brought out of the fort and sent to (Serings) patam: where the baron was placed in one ~~d~~ungeon and his family in another.

71. All the wealth (6) and property found in (Chitra)droog was made over to ("the Sircar") Hyder: he settled the country, placed a garrison, and appointed Shekh Ayaz (7) Commandant of that Fort and ruler of the district leaving a strong force under his orders.

72. He then set out to invade the Mahratta country (8) with a large force. He seized on (9) Bankapuram, Dharwar, Gajendragada Badami, Yadwad. In the countries thus far he placed guards in garrison from place to place: appointing revenue collectors; thus he settled all the provinces. (Wilks 2, 186).

73. After remaining there some time he returned to invade Kurpa (Guddapa) but here he was opposed (Literally, they came and stood). Hyder's army was much increased, and in the year Hevalam bi (A.D. 1777) the Nabob (10) of Cuddapa fell into his hands Hyder then having taken Cuddapa marched straight to Siddhout (Wilks 2, 191, gives a clearer story) where he halted.

74. In the late actions Hyder had taken eighty Pathans prisoners: he kept them at his gate at night they seized swords and two of them rushed into Hyder's own tent where they cut down the sentry and made a cut at the pillow of his couch. Hyder escaped from his tent. The pages in waiting drew their swords and slew these two. Then the guards were aroused: they seized and disarmed and bound and imprisoned the rest (11). * Next day all the Pathan - prisoners had their hands and feet (12) cut off.*

75. 1. In the year Vicrama (A.D. 1760) Nawab Mohsin Khan of Kuddapa sent orders to Servant Khan Commandant of Siddhavatam; (vulg Sedhout) summoning him to attend. But he was afraid to go to Kuddapa. Thereupon Mohsin Khan planned an expedition to seize Sarvar Khan. This came to his ears : - and thereupon he, with a few followers fled to Khummum (vulg. Gumbhum). There he collected a small force and once made a descent upon Siddhavat (his own residence) and did some cruel acts: while the troops in the fort resisted him. In the Year Vishu (A.D. 1761) certain (nayaks) captains in the fort of Siddhavatam, who were named Timma Nayudu and Siddi Nayudu with the leading Sikh captains combined together and released Abdul Halim Khan, (son of Abdul Hasid Khan who was son of Abdul Hamid Khan.) from prison in the fort of Siddhavat: they placed him on the chair of state and presented offerings to him.

75. 2, When news of this reached Kuddapa, Nawab Mohsin Khan considered that he could not safely interfere in this matter. He therefore quitted Kuddapa and went to Kandanolu (Curnool). Thus Halim Khar became ruler of Siddhavatam and also of Kuddapa. He appointed his younger brother's Sayad Mirza Khan and Rahma Mirjan Khan rulers of Pasupula, of Uylavada and some other villages: they went, supported by a small force and encamped near pasupula.

75. 3, There they were attacked by Sarwar Khan who had some troops both horse and foot. After a short action Sarwar Khan was retreating when Sayad Mirjan Khan and Rahmu Mirjan Khan pursued him as far as Uyala Vada - where they smote off his head.

75. 4. After Nawab Mosum Khan had gone to Kandanolu he gave his seal ring to one Dhyas Saheb desiring that it might be conveyed to Halim Khan. When Halim Khan knew of Gayas Saheb's approach he marvelled what might be his errand; so he sent Siddi Hillal with a detachment who met and fired on Ghayas Saheb. But he said I am the bearer of a seal ring from Nawab Mosum Khan to Nabob Halim Khan: you should not attack me. Thereupon they made friends and proceeded together to Cuddapa where Ghayas Saheb delivered the ring to Halim Khan.

75. 5. Mohsin Khan died about this time at Kandanolu. Halim Khan ruled Kuddapa and Siddhavat from S.S.1683-1691 A.D.1761-1769). But in this last year 'the Bahadar' (commonly called Hyder Ali Khan, ruler of Seringapatam) marched with his army into that neighbourhood and encamped at Wantimatta, determined on attacking Halim Khan. Then Halim Khan sent his minister Uttama Chaudu Lala to intercede and to offer tribute and present some money. Hyder accepted this and marched away.

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75. 6. Halim Khan bestowed some lands (in Jagire) as a living on this minister Uttama Chundu Lala: who however was accused of having abstracted part of the proceeds. This accusation was made by Rupu Ram and by Kesiva Reddi of Uyalvada. The Nabob believed their statements, and thereupon sent people to plunder the house of Uttama Chundu Lala; then this minister was chained to the foot of an elephant and trampled to death.

75. 7. In the year Manmatha (A.D.1775) Nizam Dhoamsa was sent by the Nawab Nizam Ali Khan with an army and encamped in the neighbourhood of Hari Hara (Hurrybur). Then Halim Khan went and met Dhoamsa and consulted with him plotting the destruction of (Hyder) 'the Bahadar'. This became known to Hyder who quitted Seringapatam and marched by the Bellary road. Meanwhile Dhoamsa prepared to march away by the Nirmal route: and he desired Halim Khan to go home to Cuddapa.

75. 8. Halim Khan set out and marched northwards, crossing the Tumbhadra, and travelling by the road of Gonupalli where he remained two days with Muhavvar Khan to Nabob of (Kurnool) Kandanolu: and then marched with his own troops to Chakarlapalem near Duhoor: the fort at this village being in the hands of Mattla Appaia Razu, baron of Chitwel, he besieged the fort for four months and on conquering the place he marched on to the fort of Siddhavatam.

75. 9. He sent spies to enquire where Hyder then was: and was told that Hyder was dead. Halim Khan was well pleased and bestowed gifts on the men who brought these tidings. This became known to Hyder and he therefore sent detachment commanded by Mir Saheb to besiege Cuddapa.

Mir Saheb marched to the neighbourhood of **Duhoor** and captured the fort of Kummadi.

75. 10. On hearing of this Halim Khan sent his two brothers Ghafir Mirjan and Sayad Mirjan with his son Husen Mirjan: giving them some supplies and guns commanded by Siddi Hillal they were thus sent to guard Cuddapa. This party marched to Kndapa and found that Mir Saheb had already taken the fort at Kummaddi. Thereupon they turned and - went to Duhoor and strengthened that fort: pitching their camp outside.

75. 11. Hyder's officer Mir Saheb set out from Kummaddi and marched to Jambulamadaka (now called Jummul-mudgoo) and took that town: then he proceeded to Poddutur and after taking that place he was attacked by Husen Mirjan and others who lay encamped at Duhoor. They drove him away from Poddatoor and then they returned and remained at Duhoor. Hyder was then at Chitracallu and Mir Saheb sent a message, to him praying a reinforcement without which he said he could not take Kuddapah.

75. 12. On hearing of this, Hyder set out with Tipoo and marched his entire army to Duhoor and halted on the south-west of that town at the village of Kundu-gadda: while his troops were spread through Jillelu, Tangatoor, Velivela and Chilamacurru. Halim Khan was warned that the 'Bahadar' and Tippoo were marching on his town from Chitracal. On hearing of this he wrote letters to Husen Mirjan, Ghafir Mirjan and Siddi Hillal ordering them to unite all their troops at Kadapa.

But Siddi Hillal was treacherous to him and was inclined to side with (Hyder) Bahadar. He therefore did not deliver the letter which was addressed to Husen Mirjan:

he concealed it.

75. 13. On the night of 15 Chaitra, Vicari S.S. 1701 (i.e. 1st April 1779) after supper, Husen Mirjan, and Ghafer Mirjan taking Siddi Hillal and all their troops, marched against the invading force; for they imagined this force to be Mir Saheb's alone: they were ignorant of the arrival of Hyder and Tippoo. They proudly said Shall Mir Saheb be able to withstand us? These two Nabobs(i.e. Husen and Ghafer) mounted each an elephant and taking Siddi Hillal with them they entered the plain and there they beheld Hyder's army. Which-ever way they looked, as far as the eye could go, there were cavalry, infantry and artillery, without end.

75. 14. Then they sent for Siddi Hillal with some prudent men or rank, and said: the army appears enormous: it does not look like the army of Mir Saheb should Hyder be here, mischief will happen. What chance have we against a force so huge? How shall we find out whether this is the army of Mir Saheb or that of Hyder himself.. To this speech some able commanders replied by offering to go and find out the truth. Ten horsemen thereupon attacked Hyder's body guard, and seized one whom they brought back and questioned him. He assured them saying both Hyder and Tippoo are now present in the camp and so you cannot escape: if you are prudent, you will not begin the assault but the retreat.

75. 15. When Husen and Ghafer Miyan heard these words, they said, "We might retire leisurely had we time, but to retreat suddenly would be rash and fruitless. Let us therefore commence the attack", with this resolution they prepared both the infantry and artillery, and chained the elephants (to keep them from running away) and on the night (of 1 April) at midnight they commenced the assault. The battle

battle continued until fourghurees (two English hours, nearly) after sunrise and was very furious: but Husen and Ghafer lost many men and were unable to stand their ground; they therefore turned and drew off their elephants and retreated to Mitta. mani palleh, pursued by Hyder's carbineers and ~~other~~ cavalry who slew such as were fleeing. At noon on the day after full moon (2nd April) these two Nabobs were - surrounded on their elephants by Hyder's carbineers.

75. 16. Both being taken prisoners Hyder marched at once to the ~~thick~~ tamarind forest near Siddhavatam and sent a message to (their father) Halim khan ordering him to appear in the presence. Before daring to present himself Halim Khan released Ram the Kayast and Ghayas Saheb the Turk (both of whom he had kept in prison), and he sent them to make terms with Hyder.

75. 17. These two went to Hyder and treacherously joined themselves with him. They said if you will give us some troops we will introduce them unto the fort and if you will have your troops ready out side, the fort will fall unto your hands. Hyder gave them some troops whom those two men brought to the gate of Siddhavatam. Halim Khan's son-in-law and others on seeing these troops went and told Halim Khan saying the messengers we sent (Rup Ram and Ghayas Saheb) have returned, accompanied by troops: it looks like treason.

75. 18. Then Halim Khan sent out two proper messengers to confer with Rup Ram and Gaya Saheb: the messengers said you went out to offer terms; why do you now return with troops? Rup Ram and Ghayas Saheb replied We have settled the terms peaceably, and we will now report the particulars to the Nabob (meaning Halim Khan). When Hyder dismissed us he said as we have now made an agreement I will give you some of my troops who are to be admitted (into Siddhavatam) and to walk round

walk round the ramparts. If this is agreeable to you I will consent to your proposals, but not otherwise, If you refuse I shallbesiege your town. As Hyder spoke thus, we as your friends consented, and he has sent his troops here with us. If you wish well to Halim Khan you should represent these things to him, and induce him to allow these troops to enter and walk round the ramparts: while we ourselves will state to him the conditions on which Hyder offers peace.

75. 19. The messnegers then returned into the fort and stated all this to Halim Khan, who consented and admitted Rup Ram and Ghayas Saheb with the troops within the walls. But presently there appeared under the walls more of Hyder's troops, both horse, carbineers, and infantry; who had been lying in wait in the rear.

75. 20. When Halim Khan's servants returned to him they warned him that the whole of Hyder force was now marching up to the fort. There is now, said they, no doubt of their designs, and if you will issue orders we will commence the battle. But Rup Ram and Ghayas Saheb being then in the Nabob's presence replied; What though the army of Hyder draw near our walls, what does it signify? as soon as the party already admitted shall go out again, after walking round the walls, terms of peace shall be settled: pray do not new agitate matters.

72. 21. Halim Khan trusted these advisers and ordered his men to make no attack on Hyder's soldiers. While Hyder's guards were still inside the fort , therefore entered first infantry, and then some (Karolu Savar) cavalry, and reached Halim Khan's door, whereupon Halim Khan's men find a few shots. But Hyder's army being not only the stronger but likewise the best regulated, paid no attention to such a paltry resistance and took possession of the fort.

75.22. The troops who were first admitted set upon Halim Khan's residence: and at that moment Hyder entered with all his army, seized Halim Khan ~~xxxx~~ with his wives and children and sent them all captives to Seringapatam. Halim Khan's goods and wealth, with all he had placed at Cuddapah, were all within one month transmitted to Seringapatam: while Hyder garrisoned Siddhavatam and Cuddapa: which had for eighteen years been ruled by Halim Khan. During Halim Khan's reign every pagoda in Siddhavat was in ruins. Afterwards this town was ruled by a bramin named Balineni patnam Joganna: and as he fell into arrears. Tippoo summoned him (in 1795) to Seringapatam where he was slain, being rolled up in a blanket and flung from the crest of the hill.

76. This intelligence was at once made known to Halim Khan (1) at Siddhout: then he accepted terms and came out of his fort (of Siddhout) (Wilk 195) and Hyder sent him and his wife and family to Seringapatam where he imprisoned them. Hyder now placed garrisons throughout the Cuddapah country: which he entrusted to Mir Ali Razar Khan, and returned home to Sringapatam. (2)

Hyder now meditated an embassy to Delhi. He appointed Bal Mucunda Dass Soucar; and Karvan Sujayat Khan the Pathan as messengers. (3) to Ali-Gauhar minister of the Badshah. They did so go to Hindustan: and their intent was to bring back with them handsome and good looking recruits from among the Jains. His object also was to obtain from the Badshah a royal grant of the Hyderabad (Soobeh) country to himself. Hyder gave them to lacks of Rupees to present as offerings and sent them off (4) in the year Vicari (A.D.1779).

77. In this year Hyder made friends with Abdul Hakim Khan, of Svanur: to whose daughter he wished to marry his son Karim Saheb: and Hyder wished his own daughter to marry the son(named Abdul Khair Khan) of this Hakim Khan.

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78. (Hakim Khan represented that) the Mahrattas had formerly seized half his realm, being eleven districts which had belonged to the Savanoor country: (which districts had since fallen into Hyder's hand) and (Hakim Khan) proposed that a portion of this should now be restored to him. On these terms he agreed to serve Hyder with 2000 horse (5). This being settled, preparations were made for the marriage: and Hakim Khan with his family came to Seringapatam. The laid out (unitedly) three or four lacks of Rupees and celebrated the weddings magnificently. Hyder presented the Khan with horses and elephants and sent him home.

79. Monsieur Lally (6) who had fled from the battle at Balapoor (7) was at this time ⁱⁿ the employ of the Nizam of Hyderabad. In the year Vicari (A.D. 1779) he sent 25,000 Rupees as an advance (8) and invited him with two hundred French Soldiers (farangi) 150 troopers (tursubsawar) or cavalry, and 1000 Infantry and two cannons. Hyder received Lally very liberally: appointing him 2000 rupees as monthly pay and agreeing to pay ~~and agreeing to pay~~ all his men according to the muster roll, keeping them in his service - (Wilks, 2,303).

80. In this year Vicari (A.D. 1779) Vakeels named Ganesh Rao, and Govind Rao were sent by the Peshwa to attend the said weddings; bringing Hyder a letter of gratulation and to present jewels. The Peshwa on this occasion exchanged assurances with him: it was agreed that as the English were warring against the Peshwa merely on account of Raghunath Rao: that therefore the Peshwa and Hyder should continue to be - friends to one another. (1)

Hyder had formerly been paying (Khandani) tribute to the Mahrattas; but ~~three~~ or four years this had run into arrears amounting to 1,800,000 (eighteen lacks) (2) of Rupees. This sum he raised and sent by the vakeels; to whom likewise he committed elephants jewels and handsome presents for their ruler (3).

81. Hyder now resolved on invading the low countries (Payenghat) He took fourteen thousand cavalry (4): twelve thousand (Siladar) irregular horse twenty thousand Infantry and twelve thousand (Carnatics) matchlock men(5). He had with him as allied (palehgar) barons of Haſſapanahally and Raidroog, Honnoor, (6) and Savenoor and others. He marched to Bangalore where he arrived in Jyeshth, year Sarvari (July 1780). Thence he marched down, through the Singarpeta pass (ghaut) (7). He gave five thousand men to the hand of Karim Saheb (his son) and sent him to Mohammad Bandar (i.e. Porto Novo) A detachment marched to invade Madras, while Hyder proceeded with his army to Tirunmalie (Wilks 2, 254, gives a return of Hyder's force).

82. The detachment sent to plunder Porto Novo - ('Mohammed Bandar') then rejoined Hyder : and now he set out on a march plundering every place in his way. He reached Arcot and besieged that place (8).

83. On hearing that (General) Baillie was approaching Arcot. Hyder sent his son Tippoo Sultan to oppose him (Wilks 2, 277) and a fight took place which lasted one or two days. The English made a vigorous defence : so much so that Hyder raised his camp and marched against them. The English army was now the weaker and was attacked with artillery on both sides. A cask of gunpowder in the English camp exploded: whereupon the fire both of cannon and ⁵m_usketry paused. Then Hyder's cavalry attacked them on all sides and the English line was broken. Many on each side exerted themselves - greatly: the survivors both English and Native with General Baillie and Rumley and Lieut. Fraser (9) were taken prisoners. This happened on Sarvari Bhadrabada 13th of the wane (10th September 1780).

84. All the cannons and muskets of the English force were taken. The three commanders were brought before Hyder

who treated them courteously: granting them tents and other supplies. When the (English) troops advancing from Conjeveram heard of this they turned and marched through the peta (10) onwards. Madras.

85. Hyder rejoiced much at this great victory. He wrote and sent tidings of it to every fort under his sway: and he fired a salute of cannon, distributing sweetmeats to his troops.

86. The above said three English Commandants (11) and five or six hundred 'Soldats' (Soldaz) and about twenty petty Officers were imprisoned at Seringapatam and in Bangalore: they were treated well and duly supplied with requisites.

87. Then Hyder returned to Arcot opened his batteries and made an assault on the city walls. Here he captured Achanna Pandit (12) and Najib Khan the commandant: also some English Officers who were in the fort: they having capitulated and come out Hyder bestowed gifts on them and sent them to Madras. He sent all the plunder to Bangalore.

88. Then (1) he marched against Chandragiri, Chittoor and other places: which he garrisoned.

Mohammad Ali Khan's brother Abdul Wahab Khan was seized with his family and carried to Seringapatam where he was imprisoned. (2)

89. (The above said) Royal Achanna Pant was presented by Hyder with jewels and other gifts: the (Subah) district of Arcot was settled upon him and he was directed to collect revenues. Afterwards Hyder took the more respectable inhabitants of Callispauk in the Arcot country, and the chief merchants, in Arcot: about ten thousand persons in all: these he transported to Seringapatam and Shahr Ganjam, where they were employed in their respective trades and professions. Many of these

perished, and the residue dwelt in Serigapatam as tradesmen. The boys among these were (made Asadulai) ordered to be entertained in the service (3).

90. Mir Ali Raza Khan (Hyder's son-in-law) now came from Kadapa bringing with him four thousand horse and six thousand foot. Hyder sent him and Mohammad Ali 'Commandant' (the French word) to besige Vellore where they attacked Sajara and Gojara (the two hills which with Murtuzgur command Vellore) while the English army under General Coote drew near Chengleput.

91. Hyder had secret intelligence of this: and recalled Ali Raza Khan to Arcot: and then marched the united army to encounter General Coote (4). He encamped close to the English camp. The English army set out by night, marching along the Wardavoor road. Hyder advanced the same day with his forces to attack them: wherefore the English marched down to the sea shore and then marched to Vellor (5). (Hyder) sent out detachments of cavalry and infantry in all directions: under Commandant Siddi Hillal. Hyder's head quarters were on the plain near Chengleput. Hyder sent Mir Ali Raza Khan with troops to Cuddalore. This Khan marched to Trichinopoly where he encamped: he established garrisons throughout the Tanjore country appointing Hari Dass Pandit to manage and collect the revenues.

92. Learning that some troops were marching from Trichinopoly to Tanjore, Hyder set out with his body guard (chham sawar) by rapid marches and reached the river Weyer near Tanjore, where he seized and slew the assailants. He next was warned of a rising near Trichinopoly (6): this also he crushed. Then he placed garrisons at Seringam (the temple close to Trichinopoly) and returned to his ground.

93. For Hyder heard that General Coote had arrived at Mahmood Esdar (Porto Novo) (f) on his way back to Madras.

Hyder therefore by rapid marches (8) left Trichinopoly for Mahmood Bandar, where a battle ensued between him and the English wherein many were slain. Mir Ali Raza Khan (Hyder's son-in-law) was killed by a cannon ball: such was the fate of many of Hyder's men and no good came of it.

94. Thence the English army marched to Madras (9) Hyder set out and halted at Musalavaca. The English army appeared near him at Korlapauk where he fought them. In the evening the English marched back to Madras while Hyder's forces - halted at Cholgera (probably Cholangavaram).

95. A detachment of the English were conveying supplies towards Vellore and when in the plain they were attacked by the (Paligaras) chieftains of Arcot and Calastry, who were confederated with Hyder. But the English were too strong. they defeated the assailants who fled with their forces: while the supplies reached Vellore safely.

96. Hyder exacted thirty thousand star pagodas from the Danes at Tranquebar (42)

Two battalions of the English Infantry with artillery were coming along near Avalconda. The Nabob (Hyder) heard of this and attacked them: some were slain and some fled. He captured their two guns and there he returned to Dhobigada (Kirmani 451)

97. In the month of Hage of year Plava (1781 here wrongly written Flavanga which would be A.D. 1787) a detachment of the French commanded by Monsieur Comte Dupleix and Suffrein the "Ship Commander" arrived with three thousand 'Soldats' and artillerymen who were duly equipped. They landed at (Mahmud Bandar) Porto Novo. The naval commander (Suffrein) again went on board his ship and departed, while part of the army under Dupeix: marched from Mahmud Bandar and in company with Tippoo's army they arrived at Cuddalore and placed themselves in garrison.

98. The Nabob (Hyder) then marched with his troops from Dhobigada and had halted at Tripassornear Cuddalore: Suffrein the French Naval Commander also arrived at Cuddalore where Hyder had an interview with the French officer (Suffrein); who presented Hyder with jewels, watches &c. in abundance. Hyder presented the Frenchman Commander with jewels and bestowed on him one lack of Rupees.

99. Then the French troops on board the ship were disembarked. Hyder directed Wakeel Vitthal Pandit and other clerks to procure supplies for the French troop such as meat and drink. The Wakeel and others obeyed this order.

100. Among them was a great officer named Monsieur Bussy who with his subordinate officer paid their respects to Hyder and then went to their tents.

A report then arose in the country and in the camp that the Bahadar had departed to the Paradise of Bliss. The Bahadar was aged full sixty years.

END OF BOOK SECOND

MEMOIRS
Of
TIPPOO SULTAN,

BOOK III.

Comprising the First Eight Years of Tippoo's Reign A.D.
1782 - 90.

1. Tippoo Sultan was born at Devanhully on the second day of the wane in the month Margasira year Angirasa (that is A.D. 1752 (1)) At this time Hyder was engaged, under Nanda Raz at Trichinopoly.

In the year Vicrama [A.D. 1760] the Kartar (2) began to resist Hyder (See Book I. 37. 40) Tippoo Sultan (who was then eight years old) was left by Hyder with the rest of the family in his own village outside the fort (of Seringapatam) while Hyder escaped to Bangalore. Then Nandraz - brought Tippoo and the rest of Hyder's family into the fort of Seringapatam as prisoners. Hyder returned to that fort and seized Khandeh Rao and settled the affairs of the state. He removed Tippoo and his family to Bangalore ~~there~~ he marched to besiege Nagar (Biddunur, Bednore) which he conquered and removed Tippoo to Nagar and reared him as a young prince: appointing a suitable hand of attendants to wait upon him and employing learned tutors to carry on his education. Thence he took Tippoo with him when going to attack Calicut: for he intended to train him in riding and the chase and in all manly exercises: for he employed him in every branch of the service and in hunting.

On returning to Seringapatam he after a while gave Tippoo the command of a squadron of two hundred horse as a life - guard.

2. After Hyder had fought and conquered Tryambac Mama he

he gave his son Tippoo the command of five hundred horse granting him as a jaghire the districts of Malval, Conanoor above the hills and Tangericota and Dharmapuri and Pennagar in the lowlands.

He employed Tippoo in any military affair that occurred, to command his (Hyder's) forces. The details hereof I have given in the Life of Hyder.

After (the death of)Hyder (3) Tippoo Sultan succeeded to the throne. He gave every encouragement to the old captain and to all the servants. He issued orders of confirmation to the various collectors throughout the country.

The army he now commanded consisted of 12,000 regular cavalry 20,000 irregular horse, 30,000 foot and 12,000 (Carnatic) militia: also 5,000 pioneers: and park of Artillery.

3. When he was at Cuddalore he consulted Monsieur Lally (the French General) and Admiral Suffrein: who had landed at Mahmud Bandar (Porto Novo) with 3,000 Europeans and 5,000 or 6,000 Africans (See Book II.97) He consulted with them and obtained 500 French soldiers ("Soldats") and one officer: these he brought into his camp and was planning an attack upon the English.

4. Meantime the English forces were encamped at Vandavasi (near Trivatoor.) The English call it. Wandewash, the author has written this name Vandenavasi.) (1).

learning
On hearing that Hyder had obtained the aid of the French. The English retired to Madras. Then Tippoo marched to Vandevasi*

5. There was an officer of Hyder named Shekh Ayaz: (2) by birth a Nair but circumcised and appointed a (chela). ५

6. When the report of (Hyder's) decease arrived Shekh Ayaz dreaded lest Tippoo's rule, would prove unfortunate to him as great hatred existed between himself and Tippoo. Ayaz therefore invited General Mathews (to occupy) Nagar Bednore) with 2000 English soldiers and 6000 native troops. This force accordingly marched and garrisoned Bednore. (A.D. 1782)

And while on his march to Nagar Bednore he placed a garrison at Honnavar (Honore) and captured Mangalore.

7. Ayaz quitted Nagar Bednore: where (his) troops were scattered on all sides: and were marching into the Seringapatam territory with the elephants and artillery. Ayaz had seen General (Mathews) and consulted him regarding arrangements for his future safety. (3)

8. Meantime the inhabitants of Coorg arose in rebellion against Tippoo, who on hearing of this, desisted from the war against the English. He appointed Mir Moin Ud Din Khan Bahadur, with Diler dil Khan Bahadur and Bahadur Uz Zaman Khan Bahadur with other officers to proceed with a force of 6000 foot and 5000 horse, with 10,000 (peons) Canarese militia to settle the business in (Walaja) Nagar (4) and Arcot and appointed Jogi Pandit as Dewan (in that neighbourhood.) At this time he ordered the city walls (of Arcot) to be blown up.

9. (Tippoo) then marched his army, accompanied by the French troops, through the Singarapeta pass to Bangalore: (5) thence he proceeded to Kolaram. He sent (Hyder) Bahadur's (tabut) coffin to (Seringa) patam and sent forty thousand star pagodas to be laid out in alms at the capital. He appointed Lutf Ali Begh to command the van and sent some troops into the Coorg country. Then he marched rapidly to the neighbourhood of Nagar (Bednur) and as the van was unable to proceed beyond that place, he divided them into two parties: one of which was sent by the Cawl Durga road and the other by Anantpoor. After this was done Tippoo entered Nagar (Bednore) See Wilks 2.

10. The English force at Nagar guarded the hillpass: and there were skirmishes for one or two days: but by attacking the place by assault on all sides Tippoo captured the

town. This was in the year Sobhaerit (A.D.1783) month Chaitra.

Ayaz had heard of the Sultans approach and eight days before hand he had gone to Zundapooram and by ship he thence escaped to Goa.

11. When the petta (of Bednore Nagar) was plundered, all the English troops entered the fort; the fort was not strong. But there was a house of the Governor's, and the siege of this house employed the troops four or five days. (6) After the fort was taken this house surrendered. The Sultan spared the defenders of the house and brought them out of the fort but disarmed them: all the arms being reckoned as plunder.

12. He sent one thousand (gora farang) English soldiers as captives, in fetters, to be imprisoned in Chittledroog and Coppul (near Kanacagiri) and Gootty, &c. He imprisoned General Mathews ("Sardar Mattis") severely in (Seringa) patam and twenty of his officers were confined at Kappal Droog: (1) where they all died: (2) Matthe's was made to die at (Seringa) patam where he had been imprisoned. (Tippoo) kept the privates in his service. (3).

13. After the fall of Nagar, the Sultan was enthroned, at Nagar. The ceremony took place on year Sobhaerit (4th May A.D. 1783) on Vaisakh Suddha Tadiya. He received (Muzzers) offerings and there were great rejoicing (Wilks 2. 462)

14. At Mangalore there was a garrison of five hundred (feringis) English and 1000 (bar sipai) native troops: the Sultan sent a small force commanded by " " Li Khaz to besiege Mangalore. (Wilks 2. 463.) They were not successful; on hearing of this Tippoo himself marched with his army down from the (ghauts) hill passes.

15. The English force now set out from Madras to march against Pondicherry (Wilks 2. 466) and take their revenge, whereupon Mons. Bussy summoned to his aid Syed Saheb who

commanded Tippoo's troops below the hill passes.

16. Tippoo now sent messengers to Madras wishing to make peace with the English. The messengers were Appaji Rao, and Sri Nivas Rao (This was Tippoo's Diwan or Premier). While these were consulting, two or three severe actions took place between the English and French at Pondicherry: and many lives were lost on each side. Orders came from (Vilayat) Europe commanding the war to cease: hereupon they were reconciled. The peace was about to be concluded, when the French intimated to the English that the peace with Tippoo should be made by the English themselves. Tippoo's messengers having been sent to the English direct, the English consented to this proposal, and sent an officer named Taylor who accompanied Tippoo's messenger back to the Sultan.

17. The French presented various gifts to Tippoo's officer (meaning Sayad Saheb see para. 15) who had come to aid them: they notified to him the peace which was now made by (the English and) the French: and they desired him to go home. He therefore quitted Pondicherry and returned to his post.

18. In the time of Hyder he had a servant named Shamaya a very superior man who Hyder employed as Post Master. He was present with Tippoo Sultan at Mangalore: his elder brother Rangaya being the head man at Seringapatam; where one Syed Mohammad was (Killed) Captain of the fort. Syed Mohammad believed that Rangaya was plotting in favor of the English: thereupon he imprisoned him with 200 persons connected with him: out of these people he hanged some and killed others, by dragging them at the foot of an elephant. (4) He informed the Sultan of this by a letter written when he was at Mangalore. Hereupon Tippoo severely reprimanded Shamaya (who now was with Tippoo) (5) put him in irons and sent him to Seringapatam where he was kept in a cage.

19. All his horse and wealth being seized and ruined, all his dependants were put to the torture. Ultimately two lacks of pagodas (700,000 Rupees or 800,000) were extorted from them: and (Tippoo) extorted other sums from their people employed in the Post office throughout the country, putting them fettered in prison.

20. After awhile he slew some of them and others - perished in jail. Some were released after five or seven years had expired. This happened (probably meaning Shama's punishment) in the month Sreavana, year Sobhacrit. (AD. 1783) at Seringapatam while Tippoo was at Mangalore. Some wives of the sufferers were drafted into the Sultan's Seraglio.

21. Tippoo Sultan then went to Mangalore and lodged in the pagoda of a god named Cherkeel Vinayac (that is, Ganesa with an elephants head) At night the Sultan had a dream of an elephant which tormented him so much that he removed thence to the Village of Honnavar. As this god (Ganesa the elephant headed) performed such miracles (ramat) Tippoo bestowed on him lands valued at three hundred pagodas a year. (6)

22. Tippoo now laid siege to (Kodur) Mangalore fort: (7) every day there were sharp engagements: when the rainy season approached Tippoo sent all his cavalry up the hills into the Seringapatam country retaining the infantry alone. He prepared and opened batteries on all sides and made such a vigorous assault that the fort was battered down even with the ground.

23. But the French officers now informed Tippoo (1) that peace having been made with the English against whom

they could no longer join with him in the war, the French were about to return through Mahi (2) Bandar to Pondicherry. The Sultan would not listen to the French officers who now desisted and ceased from tending the batteries.

24. In the days of Hyder the fort of Kodyal (Mangalore) was commanded by the former (3) (Mazi) officer Comandau Khasim Ali alias Rustum Ali, who was Killadar. But Tippoo believed him guilty of surrendering the fort (of Nagar Bednoor) to the English and ordered him to be hanged. Mahammad Ali 'Comandau' and the men of his corps armed themselves and rescued the Killadar: the fight took place outside of the camp. (This is a confused summary of a story which the writer probably was ashamed to detail. It is told at full length in Kirmani page 19. 25) On learning this, Tippoo sent 500 or 600 men who hemmed in the former (mazi Killadar) commander; many of those who defended him fled: the remnant about one hundred in number were made prisoners; including the Killadar. Tippoo chained some of them to the feet of elephants while others were blown away from cannon: the Killadar was hanged and the 'Commandant' was slain. (4) This struck fear into all the army. The Killadar's wives were made converts. (5)

25. While the siege was going on at Mangalore the messengers deputed to Madras returned and the siege was therefore ended. Treaties were exchanged between Tippoo and the English. (6) It was agreed that all the English hitherto taken prisoners from the beginning of the war, whether officers soldiers or campfollowers still alive, should be released: and that nothing should be said regarding such as were dead, and the English should in like manner set free all whom they have captured. All the persons found in prison in Mangalore were to be put on

board ship with their baggage. This was done: and Tippoo made costly presents to the English officers and sent them accompanied by some trusty servants as far as Vellore (Vellore) Thirty or forty thousand (7) native Christians (8) of Mangalore, men, women and children were sent by Tippoo prisoners to Seringapatam where they were kept as converts.

26. Tippoo Sultan now proceeded to march up the Kaditcal (ghauts) hills: and observing a suitable hill he ordered a fort to be built upon it. This hill was formerly called (Narasana Kal) Narsaya Rock: but Tippoo named it Jamalabad: and ordered a town to be built here, appointing a Commandant. In a short time this place was ready. Tippoo then divided his army, one marched by the Aigur road; and another followed Tippoo: both met at Aigur: (9) which town he took: and named Manzarabad: where he ordered a fort to be built. Thence he proceeded to Periapatam where here left all his camp followers (Bhair),

27. At this time the whole of the (Kodugu) (10) Coorg country had been usurped by Utteh naick (11) Tippoo therefore marched by Periapatam and entered Coorg by the Balayana route. A battle took place at the ford in the river called Codugir Caveri. The usurper Utteh naick and his troops soon fled. Tippoo proceeded by the way of the Kottatur country, and marched to Madikere (12) (Which the English call Mercara, the capital of Coorg) Tippoo named this town Zafrabad or Muzafar-abad, (see Kirmani. 2. 69) Thence he marched by Bhed nad where he supposed Utteh naick had his home. This place was burnt down and Tippoo next turned to ("Lakiri Kota," the wooden fort,) the stockade at the Tonar pass where he heard that (Utteh) Naick then was. Here an action took place in the day time: and at night Utteh Naick fled with his people from the stockade, which Tippoo

burnt down. Meantime Tippoo left Zein-ul-Abideen with a body of troops to command the stockade, and led his other forces through Periya Patnam and thence to Palahalli: where he encamped and sent his cavalry to graze.

28. In the year Crodhi (A.D. 1784) Tippoo sent Ghulam Ali Khan and Luff Ali Begh (1) (Shahaur) as the bearers of jewels and a khillut and three lacs of rupees to Mecca (2) They were to go by sea and to speak with the Emperor of Constantinople (3) (Chepam Rum Sham Ki Padshah. 5) They took ship at Mangalore.

In the year Crodhi (1784) in the month Jyeshtha on the second day, Friday, Tippoo again entered the gate of Seringapatam.

29. In the month of Sravana of this year, Bala Mucunda Dass who formerly was sent from Dindigul by Tippoo on a mission to Delhi returned and rejoined (Tippoo) bringing (presents from the Emperor at Delhi) a palankeen and - mattresses and various gifts, and the (standards denominated the) Fish and the Maratib, &c.&c. He was brought to Tippoo's presence with princely honors and with all sorts of rejoicings the (Naubat) royal drums and trumpets: he was lodged in the gate: a salute being fired in his honor from the walls.

30. Tippoo now settled all the country and seized on all the lands (agraharams) and livings (bhattvarti swasti) which had been bestowed on bramins: he established a Revenue office to ascertain the facts concerning several livings (agraharams) and report on them. After full enquiry, some (bhattvarti maniams) clerical stipends were ordered to be sequestrated and others to be sanctioned: orders to this effect were issued throughout the country. The officers and clerks hitherto employed in the army were dismissed and new authorities were established.

31. In the year Visvavas (A.D. 1785) Tippoo made a tour for forty-five days. He marched through Bangalore, Devanahalli, Chinna Balapuram and other towns: returning (to Bangalore)

He now heard that rebellion had broken out in Coorg. He therefore marched rapidly to Coorg which he entered by the Aigur Pass. He seized upon men women and children, all he found; and sent them captive to Seringapatam (Wilks 2. 534 says that the prisoners were about 70,000.)

One Ramati had formerly made his escape; Tippoo at this time invited him back by (Cowl) fair promises made him an asadullahi and appointed him (risladar) Captain of (the asadulahi Cachehr) the corps of converts.

About five hundred souls men, women and children whom Tippoo caught in Coorg were all made (asadulahi) Coverts and sent (Captives) to Bangalore Seringapatam Chitradurgam Colaram and Hoss Cota and Nandidurgam (in different gangs).

32. In the year Crodhi (A.D. 1784) Raja Sham Raja Wadiyar (grand father of the rajah who was nominal king of Mysore in 1847) was married (apra tenkasa Khatnahin kela). He (Tippoo) circumcised his (own) son:

33. Burham ud Din, and Mir Kaver ud Din were men of Savenoor. Tippoo gave them some troops and sent them to Narugund (4) (about 40 miles from Dharwar) which fort they conquered. They took prisoner the Commandant of the fort, Callappa (5) by name, and sent him, his wife and children cattives to Seringapatam. Calappa "the Mirjman" was then sent to Cappel Droog where he died. His daughter was taken into the Sultans Seraglio. This Calappa of Mirch was VIYANKU to Parasaram Bhao. (The Phirse means, that the child of each had married the child of the other).

34. In the year Visvavas (1785) (6) month Phalguna, (Tippoo) sent out on an expedition against Adhvani, Savanur, Bunkapur

and other towns. He sent Nayak Singaya as a messenger to the Peshwa (at Poona) and to Mudoji Bhosaleh (at Nagpoor) who was on the part of the Peshwa.

35. The army Tippoo at this time commanded was 50,000 foot 10,000 asdulai and Ahmadi: likewise 20,000 (Silehdars) swordsmen: and 10,000 irregular cavalry and twenty thousand (ahsham Jawan) militia: with forty or fifty caanon.

36. (Tippoo) marched with this army against Adhoni (Adwani: (1) He at this time sent a letter to the French which accompanied with costly gifts such as Khillets, Jewles & c., (2) to Europe by the hands of his head servant Mohammad Usman, and Imadad Ali Khan, paymaster of the Elephant corps: and Mohammad Parvarish and others.

37. Tippoo besieged the town of Adoni: but the assault was beaten back with a loss of many lives. Tippoo lodged in the town. At this time arrived Hari Pant Bharkiya who was sent by the Peshwa: and Tahvayar Jang, (3) who was sent by the Mogul: they brought a reinforcement of 60,000 horse to relieve the fort (4) The sultan therefore broke up from his siege lines and drew back four miles from Adwani.

Basalatjang's son Muhabut Jang who had seen besieged in the place now set out with his family and property to Hyderabad. (Wilks 2.547).

38. On hearing that Adhwani was vacated (Tippoo) occupied (that place) he plundered the cannon and stores and he now took the name of Badshah (5) This was in the year Visvavas (1785)

At this period Kuttb-ud Din received the title Kuttb ulmuluk Bahadur and was placed with a garrison in Adhoni

Tippoo was now marching to Savanoor and halted at Gadagnath whence he (Tippoo) crossed the Tungabhadra

(Toomboodra) and attacked (the Peshwa) (6) the Maratas, who then retreated.

39. (Tippoo) then marched to Savanoor (7) The son of Fakim Khan of Savanoor had fled: whereupon Tippoo took and plundered the town strippling it bare.

Tippoo intended to make an attack by night upon the Mahrattas, at the anniversary of the Dasara feast but as the day began to break (8) he entered on general action. The Peshwa (the marata) retired with his army to the Capota hill. The Sultan (Tippoo) sent a (naik) Captain (named Sinaiia; see para 34) and Sada Sivaiia to confer with the Mahratta chief. He proposed that they should never again war against one another.

40. Then the Sultan broke the truce (9) for that night he made an assault. He plundered five hundred camels and horse and some bell tents and other baggage (10). Then the Badshah marched to Bahadur Bundor (11) where he planted batteries and made an assault in which he conquered the fort. The Peshwa had in his employ several arabs who fled with their arms. This place was commanded by Hanuma Naik and Tippoo had this man's legs cut off.

41. The Peshwa's army was halted in the neighbourhood of Gajendra gada (12) (Gajendergurh) and Tippoo again sent a message to him, by the hands of Ali Raza and Eudrzaman (13) Khan. They made Holcar their mediator and concluded a treaty: which determined that the sum of 60,000 of rupees (14) should be paid by Tippoo to the Peshwa (15) The Sultan paid half the sum (nisfa) (16) by assignments upon Soucars. Then (Tippoo) marched thence and came by the Chitaldrug road and halted in the neighbourhood of Narigel, and bodan halli (17)

42. In the year Flavanga (1787) Tippoo vauquished Harpan-

halli to Capal Droog and put him to death there. The barons of Raidroog and Havenoor (19) and their followers were sent some to Bangaloor and some to (Cappal) Droog while the wives and children of these three barons were sent to be in prison at Seringapatam.

43. Tippoo sent Chistyar Khan (1) and Purnaya and Nayak Singaya with some Infantry to Rai Droog sending also Kishnappa and Syed Mohammad Khan (of Hyderabad) and Nayak Govind Rao, to Harpanhalli. At each place the horse of the baron and that of his headman (Dalwai) were plundered. He next made prisoners of some inhabitants of Lochangood whom he sent prisoners to Seringapatam (2) there some of them were made converts.

He next marched from Bodanhalli to (Chitradrug) Chitaldroog, Harpanhalli, and Rai Durg: and on the 7th of Bahula Sravana in the year (Plava A.D. 1781 error for Flavanga which is) A.D. 1787 he arrived at Seringapatam.

44. Tippoo broke down the ancient treasury gate of Seringapatam and the old fort of Mysore and built a new one named. Nazrbahar (3) He also changed the denominations of the officials in the various military grades.

He divided the country into eighteen divisions and was much engaged in this work.

45. In the year Flavanga (A.D. 1787) month Phalguna, Suddha 3rd Monday (4) Tippoo set out on an expedition to Calicut (5) marching through the mountain pass near Tamar-cherry. On arriving at Calicut, he levied contributions on Cota Agandi Chireel (Cochin) Cadata Nadu and Cotji and other conspicuous places: taxing the Nayars the Bramins and other classes from all of whom he exacted a forcible gift as NAZRANA: in all he levied twenty lacks of Rupees.

He appointed Arshad Begh Khan to be (foujdar) Commandant and Collector. He placed Husen Ali Khan with a military force to exact the sum demanded and to keep the peace.

46. As Tippoo considered the old fort of Calicut untenable, he fixed on a place near Ramenagar (6) near which he ordered a fort to be built which he named Parokhi (7) He ordered Jamal ud Din Kubiā Khan (8) to command this fort.

As the rains were now commencing Tippoo went by rapid marches through Palghat to Cimbatorc (Wilks 3,8) (9)

47. Mohammad Usman and the other messengers whom Tippoo had sent to France, while he was besieging Adhwani, now ~~saw~~ returned: (Seen para 37) They brought him positive letters assuring him of the sympathy of the French: and valuable presents and twenty-two artists and jewellery and makers of fusils and cannon, woolen cloth, China sugar, watches & c.: there also came a physician who felt Tippoo Sultan's pulse and said "You are likely to become more bilious and your mind will be deranged". Those words enraged Tippoo who therefore sent him back. The rest of the Frenchmen were sent to (Seringa)patam (Wilks 3,9.)

48. Tippoo was displeased with Arshad Begh Khan (Whom he had just placed to command Calicut) saying that he had joined himself with the Mapallas (Moplas) and Nairs (nobles of Malayala) whereupon he imprisoned Arshad Begh for ruining the government affairs (wilks 3, 13)

49. Tippoo next marched to Dindigal where he reviewed the fort. He went to the house of Mir moin Moyed ud Dinand. He there accepted jewels, two elephants, and four horses: which he took as a (Nazar") gift (Wilks 3. 12) (11).

He next went to Gurva-Maick's (village named) Karmapallian and also sent troops against other (Paligars) barons, all whose lands he plundered.

He then passed by the way of Dindigul, and came up the Gajalhatti pass: arriving at Seringapatam on Kilaka (1788) Sravana Sravana Suddha 13 Thursday.

50. The army Tippoo had with him at this time consisted of Infantry 30,000
Cavalry 10,000
Irregular Horse 10,000 (1)
Militia 10,000
and 20 Guns.

51. Four or five months Tippoo was residing at the garden of the palace called Darya-i Daulat (the ocean of prosperity) He lived by turns in the Fort (of Seringapatam) and in this garden.

52. News now arrived that the Nairs at Calicut were becoming rebellious: (2) wherefore, on (Kilaka 1788) Pushya Suddh 13, Tuesday, Tippoo was setting out for Calicut (Wilks 3. 14) at this moment (3) he heard of a rebellious movement in Coorg: and he therefore sent a force (in that direction) under the command of Burhan ud Din and Syed Hamid. Tippoo himself marched through the Tamrachdi pass and halted in the neighbourhood of Ahmadnagar and Chakatur. Here he ordered some inhabitants to be drafted into the converts (Asadulai) He placed sayad Ghafar to command the place: he built a stockade. (Wooden fort)

53. He sent Shekh Imaum (Sipahdar, that is,) Commandant, on in advance and directed him to destroy the god in Shamanna's

pagoda (probably the pagoda built Shamaya whom he had murdered) Then with his own army he marched from Ahmadnagar to Kurmandu. He seized all the Nairs who were dwelling here and circumcised them. He broke down their temples and took possession of the fort and the village of Agidi Cotta, also Cherkul, and Cadtanad and other places. He caught the inhabitants of the villages and ordered they with the nairs should all be circumcised and let go. The baron of this town of Cherkul was Ravi Varma Raja (4) and Tippoo delivered the country to his care bestowing an elephant upon him (Wilks 3. 22)

54. This Raja (baron) (5) had by some means heard that Tippoo intended to circumcise him; whereupon he fled and joined the rebellious Nairs: he had his dwelling in a forest of Palas trees. (6) Tippoo sent two (Kushun bar) (7) battalions of Infantry who came to the spot and captured him, the baron therefore shot himself and died. Yet still they would not let him off so easily. They brought the baron's corpse with them and smote it with slippers and hanged it up: (8) hanging four or five of the Nairs who were his confederates. There were 2 or three bramins who were drafted as (asudulai) Converts (meaning, that, there were circumeised).

55. At Madana Katoor and vali Paramba & c. the pagodas were destroyed: and then summoning the Kazi (Mahomedan priest) Tippoo slew a (gothya) cow in the pagoda. They plundered the place of money and all the gold, silver copper brass and other metals; all which he sent to (Seringa)patam.

Tippoo then marched to Kanora (9) where he made arrangements (10) to marry his son (Abdul) Khaliq (11) halib to the daughter of Balya Bibi. Learning that the boundary of the

Telicheri country was near that spot, he appointed Kadir Navraz Khan the general to hold a jaish cacheri (about 6,000 men Wilks 3,24) and here he ordered all the remaining nairs and others to be circumcised. He then marched past Calicut (12) and arrived at Coimbetoor.

56. There was a pagoda (13) to the god Vencat Ramanaya at Coimbetoor; which was now demolished (14) one Hafiz Farode Khan was come from Nizam Ali Khan at Hyderabad. He (Tippoo) spoke with this man: (15) and sent his (Tippoo's) son Kutbul mulk with four hundred of his horse, accompanied by Ali Raza and Kutbud Din (the head spy) (1) and Naik Sada sivaya: all these & c. were sent by Tippoo to Hyderabad.

57. At this period while the said Hafiz Feroze Khan was present, there was a plot laid: (2) wherein were concerned Abul Khair Khan son of the Savanurt Nabab and brother in law to Tippoo; also sayad Badr uz zaman Khan the Collector of Sivamaga, (3) a part of Seringapatam and some others. The scheme was to slay Tippoo; who thereupon imprisoned Abdul Khair Khan in Seringapatam and sent the rest of the conspirators to Kapal Droog where they lay in prison.

But they escaped from the prison and were again caught by syed Mohammad Khan the ruler (Killedar) (4) of (Seringa) petam who put them to death.

58 In the year Saumya (1789 AH. 1204) Aswija Bahula 12. The (Tippoo probably) set out from Coimbetoor for Nidamcota with his army. The force was 20,000 regular horse (tabelas) (5) and 5,000 irregular cavalry and 10,000 swordsmen (asham) and 20 guns, He marched by the road of Anical (6) (this word means Elephant rock) Here the sultan held an Elephant hunt and captured thirty six elephants: also wild buffaloes and elks. This was on the year Saumya (1789)

Kartica Bah 11 Friday, he took a pregnant deer (7) and having staked it down by the legs (8) he commanded Poornea's children and others to sever its body at one blow.

59. After this he set out by the way of Paulghau and reached Triskeroo (9) . Here he saw the great pagoda of the god Venkut Ravana and other temples where he established (an a'saf Cacheri) a revenue board. Then he laid a plan to change the Pagoda into a fort: he marched (from Triskeru) and encamped at the villages of Talcaud and Marcoon near Nidimicota on the banks of the Cavary (For Talcar W, 2,28 writes Travancore)

60. In the year Saumya (1789 Pushya Suddh 13 Tuesday he proposed to make an assault on Nidamacota. He marched all night and taking the mountain road because easiest he attacked the town and drove the people (a coss) two miles before him and seized the fort. He then took 400 or 500 of the inhabitants and slew them. (10)

61. The Sultan wished to carry the war into the heart of the country. He gave the command of the van to Commandant Zaman Beg who fought gallantly. But the Nayars harassed him on three different sides, screening themselves in the forests. Tippoo's men suffered so much that they deserted him and fled from the field. He employed his men in levelling the fort walls (11) and filling up the ditch with the rubbish. (12) They were so hard pressed that they were obliged to retire through the breach they had made. Tippoo himself was forced to make his escape leaving (Wilks. 3. 48 says that the lameness & c) his palanz keen behind him: and in the evening he arrived at his camp. (13) In this action Tarbiyat Ali Khan and Mahammad Tippoo, and Mahammad Umar the (Arzbegi) Usher and Jayamani Rao the clerk and others thirteen in all were

missing: (14) two or three thousand of Tippoo's men also were killed. Out of the said thirteen, the last, Jayamuni Rao reappeared three years after: the rest were not again heard of.

62. Tippoo therefore called in all the parties sent out to graze, and those who had gone on detachment to Coorg. With this force he arrived (at Midimicota) and planted his batteries on all sides. He battered the fort (15) down: and in the year Sadharana (1796) Vaisakh Suddhapratipad, Thursday, he made a second attempt against Midimacota which he took by assault driving the enemy fully two miles before him. He slew all the men that fell into his hands. He here obtained two hundred guns of various sizes made of bell metal: (1) also powder, ball and other military stores: which he forwarded to Coimbetoor and (Seringa)patam. Tippoo then caused the fort of Midimicota to be destroyed by his soldiers: he had it ploughed up and planted with castor oil seed.

63. There was a fort at Codagalur: (called also Cranganore) in the Vipina country when Tippoo battered down this fort; the inhabitants fled. He entered the fort and plundered it of all there was taking the cannon & c. which he transported to (Seringa) patam with certain nutmeg trees found growing there.

64. In the year Sadharana, (A.D. 1790) as he was marching on he was met by Ghulam Alikhan and Mohamman Jafir and others whom he had sent to Roum (Constantinople) (2) They brought him a letter from the king of Rome and various jewels (3) Tippoo now ordered this Arabic Inscription to be written over his gate. "Zil Ullahil Malik-it Manna Tipu Badshah Ghazi, Khallet Allaho Mulku-hu-wa Sultanatu hu"

(4) This being the title bestowed upon him by the Emperor of Constantinople.

65. Tippoo then marched by the Coimbatore road and was joined by Madan mar Amalraz who came in 16 days (5) and brought 14 infantry men to Cochin. Tippoo gave in return a Khillut and jewels and delivered to him a letter with jewels and a Khillut for the French King: then shipped him and sent him to France. (6) Tippoo now set out by the Coimbatore route and on year Sadharana (1790) Ashadha Nija Suddha 13 Jomavaram he again arrived at (Seringa) patam. (7)

66. The force at this time had with him was as follows 40,000 horse of all kinds and 15,000 swordsmen (absham) and 15,000 militia. Also fifty cannon, such was the force at that time (8)

APPENDIX.

In the Asiatic Annual Register for 1810-11 (Vol. XII. p. 385) General Kirkpatrick has printed translations of some letters written by Tippoo (additional to those published in a quarto volume) out of which we may copy a few passages.

Letter I - Date corresponding with 14th Dec. 1786.
"You are to slay the infidels (utterly) Such of the males (at Calicut) as may be under twenty years of age are to be made prisoners. Of the remaining unbelievers let five thousand be suspended to trees.

Letter III. The Rajas appear to be united in a friendly league with Bali Rao. If by any artifice you can get hold of them, dispatch them to hell. If the two dogs fall into your hands, act accordingly.

Letter VII-- Dated 31st December 1788. I have received

your report of having seized upon eighty two Moplas, Nair's Bramins & c. Let such of the males among them as are past twenty years of age be hung upon trees.

Letter XV.-- March 1769 Directs that the fort of Kumbhari shall be assaulted and all the men shall be made prisoners, who are to be fed on rice and beef and then to be circumcised.

Letter XXXVIII.- 15th February 1790. Regarding the arrival at Mahe, of a French Officer named Monsieur Mac Namare: who is to be sent on to the presence.

Letter XLIV. -- 16th February 1790. Orders Sayed Mohammad, commandant of (Seringapatam, to make out a list of the English Ahmedries, (that is, prisoners who have been circumcised)

MEMOIRS

OF
TIPPOO

BOOK
IV

Comprising the last Eight Years of Tippoo's Life

A.D. 1791-1799.

1. Tippoo Sultan heard that the English force under (1) General (McDows) "Mendoes" had entered the districts below the (Ghauts) hills. On year Saumya (September, 1789) Sreavana Sudd 13 Tippoo's army marched down the hills and encamped near the river Kahit (?) Tippoo heard that the English force also had marched to the vicinity of this river. Tippoo attacked them and returned to his camp (2).

(2) The English troops were lying near the river Bhavani (3). Next morning the English sent away their baggage by the route of Errodu (4) The troops should in battle array. Tippoo ordered Ghazi Khan (5) and other officers of the cavalry to attack the English and to drive them in.

(3) Tippoo set out in person by the ^{Satyamangalam} Sattiamangal road: while they (the English) proceeded fighting along the Islamabad road and a sharp battle took place. The English then retreated through the village of Cheyoor and arrived with the (McDows's) (6) force near Coimbetoor. On the same day Burham ud Din (7) became a martyr (Shahid, i.e. was slain.) The horsemen fell upon the baggage of the English and plundered them in the plain.

4. The Sultan when (marched on and) halted at Dharapur: and as "they" (the english) had garrisoned this fort, Tippoo

ordered Mir Kamr ud Din Khan and Syed Ghaffwar to besiege and storm the fort after a cannonade. The English then said they were willing to surrender (9) if terms were offered. Terms were therefore made: and Syed Ghafars (Kushoon) battalion were placed therein as a garrison: the English being released and suffered to go with their goods where they pleased. They were released with their property but all the public stores were taken by the Sultan who entertained the garrison as his soldiers. He then marched on Corahalli.

Tippoo now sent an embassy to Poonah by the hands of Ali Raza and Sri Nivas Rao and Nayac Rao.

5. Hearing that (General) Medows (1) was marching from Coimbatore and that a detachment of Bengal troops was approaching Caveripatam (2) the Sultan sent a party commanded by Kamr ud Din Kan to repulse the English force commanded by General Medows: while he Tippoo marched with a small force to attack the Bengal troops. He halted at Karangal. Three hundred of the troopers separated from the English army and were marching two miles a head: they were attacked by a party of Pindari (Beder) horse who slew some of the English troops with their horses: the rest made their escape: fifty horse fell into Tippoo's hands. The English troops that were at Caveri patnam and Krishna-gherry faced him and stood a long time ready for battle.

6. Just at this time heavy rain began to fall, and (the English troops) therefore retreated: and next day General Medow's troops, who were all at Coimbatore, went up the Tapur pass to join the guard sent in advance to Caveripatnam. On hearing of this, Tippoo retired to Sattah - Maran halli which is a little off the high road (see Wilks III. 99.) while Medows joined the troop sent on to Caveripatnam and halted at Dharampuri.

7. Tippoo Sultan (3) heard of this: he took his forces further on, with a view to marching through the Topoor pass: he put himself at the head of his troops and marched to near Adamcota: leaving his baggage with the rear guard. The English army hung on his rear; which therefore joined the mainbody. (4) Then the Sultan turned towards Pinagar (Wilks III. 102) and in the Topoor pass some balls were exchanged (date 14th Nov. 1790).

8. After going through Topoor pass the Sultan was pursued by the English who were always one march behind him (fasilah). Mir Kamr ud Din's troops now joined the Sultan. Then they said, the English shall no longer remain here; (or, there is no use in remaining there.) The English guard being beaten out of Pennagar: he (Tippoo) left a detachment there to garrison the fort and marched to Tirumalie; he fired a few (four) shots (at this fort which) thereupon surrendered. He then marched to Tirpatur where the Commander was Srinivas Rao the Cow-Killer whom he hanged. Tippoo next took the (fort of) Perama callu, where he made a prisoner of the (du basi) interpreter Tyag Raz Modily whom he sent a prisoner to (Serunga) patam: releasing the rest of the Soldats, etc.

9. At this time the English force commanded by Lord (Corn) Walls having come up the ghauts and encamped near Bangalore. From this town he removed all his valuable property to (Serunga) patam. He removed the original commandant (Killedar) of Bangalore (5) named Sayad Per and in his place appointed Bahar Khan to be the new - Killedar: placing some infantry and some irregulars there he appointed Mohammad Khan as General.

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Suburbs, and fired into the citadel: carrying on war against the fort. Tippoo Sultan took some guns and a body of troops with him; and took up a station at the Maharnomi Mantap (6) he fired at the English and at night Tippoo returned to his quarter.

11. Next day he took up a position near the pagoda of Kasara. The English Cavalry (7) came within sight, and Tippoo's irregulars and Baidis: and attached them (Tippoo's troops) who fled. Then in the year Sadharana (1790) Phalguna Bahula 2d Monday night the English made an assault on Bangalore fort and took it. (8) The (Killedar) Commandant of that place Bahadar Khan (9) Mohammad Khan commandant of the regular and irregular infantry and others were slain, Kishen Rao, clerk of the Jeysh Kachehri (10) was taken prisoner (by the English)

12. Next day the Sultan set out with his army and marched to Anikull, where he halted. He now sent letters to Hyderabad: by the hand of Mahdi Ali Khan.

He also sent to the English a message (11) by the hand of Appaji Ram and Diler Dil Khan. He now met the English troops at the Village of Elavacca and after a cannonade Tippoo went and halted at Tema-gundla. This happened in year Virodhicrit 1791) Chitra month (21.)

13. Tippoo now laid a plan to send to Chittledroog fort all the members of the family (22) who were now at Seringapatam; and his treasury and the wives and children of his chief servants. He despatched (23) Kishun Rao (the treasurer) and Asaf Mir Mohammad Sadib to Seringapatam to collect palankeens, doolies, &c., to execute this plan. They accordingly went and made all ready: but he countermanded

this. At this time he destroyed the bridge at Somwarpetta near Seringapatam.¶

14. He then marched (from Anikal) his troops towards Mulbagal. On arriving near Rahimabad (he learnt that) the treasurer named Bhujang Rao, with his brother Kishen Rao and Ram Rao junior and others had leagued with the English. He summoned them from Chintamanipetta, held a hasty (26) (panchayat) investigation (27) on them and hanged up all three brothers by the neck.

15. After this time the whole army of the Mogul (meaning Nizam Ali Khan) (or people of Hyderabad) arrived at Mulbagal and the united force (vizt. those of the Nizam and English) bringing their stores and supplies with them arrived at Bangalore. On hearing of this, Tippoo Sultan turned aside from the road to Mulbagal and halted at - Sondecoppa.

Mir Mohin ud din was encamped four miles off with some troops.

16. There was a slave named Ramudu the clerk of the (Asudulai Cacheri) convert Department. This Ramudu wrote a treasonable (fituri) letter to the English and sent it by the hand of a brahman. But he fell into the hands of Mir Moin ud Din's guard and this Ramudu was sent to the Sultan with the letter. On hearing the letter read Tippoo found it (27) mentioned Sheshagiri Rao, elder brother of Kishun Rao the treasurer was an accomplice herein. Thereupon he put Ramudu on his panchayat trial and as he confessed he put him to death by dragging him at the foot of an elephant. He sent troopers to apprehend Sheshagiri Rao but he fled and made his way to (Seringa)patam: where - likewise Kishen Rao was. Tippoo wrote letter to Syed -

Syed Mohammad Khan the Commandant of Seringapatam directing him to slay Kishen Rao and his brother Sheshagiri Rao and others: the commandant hereupon apprehended Sheshagiri Rao, Krishna Rao, Ram Rao, Balappa and Bachappa.(28). The two first of these he killed and he kept the others in prison. After some days he plundered the house of Ram Rao (29) of all his wealth, and slew him and Balappa(30)

17. Before arriving near Shondeh Coppah Tippoo marched to Little Balapoor: he took the fort of Balapoor: (31) here were five hundred peons(Spearmen) in the employ of the (Paligar) baron this baron and his men surrendered themselves on the faith of the promises of Mir Mohin ud Deen. But he cut off their hands and feet and let them go.

18. Then Tippoo marched into the neighbourhood of Sondeh Coppah, and marching thence on (Rhanwar, Firedhicrit(32) Vaisakha Sudha panchami) 1791 he again arrived at the garden "Daryar Daulat" (33) the palace of Seringapatam.)

The following is the number of his army at this time.

Asud ulai, with Ahmadi (34. 6000(35)

Horse both regulars & irregulars 20000

(Asham piade) Militia 10000

cannon, large and small forty nine.

19. Ten days after this on Wednesday the eight of the same fortnight, Tippoo again marched towards Mirgura where he pitched his tents, and on the next Sunday the English army marched from Arikerei(36) and arrived at Karighalt 'Black Rock' where a battle took place wherein many English fell. On the side of the Sultan Hassan Khan Khatel was taken prisoner (by the English.) He had suffered a wound: which the English bound up: they placed him in a palankeen and sent him to the Sultan. On the suddah 13th Monday the English (37) soldiers descended the great rock for the purpose of taking Carighat: they opened their fire on the place. The troops of the Sultan and those of Lally (38) suffered much. Of the English many fell and then they turned and went behind this great hill.

great hill.

20. The Sultan had erected a "battery beyond the river and near Somwarpeta. He slew Ram Rao, and Balappa and Rama Rao (of A'skar) and others. He also slew Rama Rao (of A'salcota): and Raghunender Naik the money dealer: and Venappa Naik (of Anigondi) and Venkates Deo, and Venkatai Dass and Sankar setti (the merchant) and Krishna Rao of Dharwar: and Timre (Gauda) the chief of the little Balapoor: also Timma Appaya of Eladur, and Raja Ram Chender of Bangalore: with his brother Venkat Narayan: he also slew the sons of the various rich barons which sons he already had safe in prison.

21. Then on Saturday the eighteenth of the month vaisakh (39) Tippoo gave ten thousand men under the command of Mir Moin ud Deen who was accompanied by Sing y. (Naick) the deputy: (40) they were sent to Periapatam to intercept the English troops on their way there. This detachment started: but the English being unable to keep their ground took their way to Coorg: leaving their guns and heavy baggage behind. Tippoo's troop pursued them some miles and took some prisoners these they brought to (Seringa) patam.

22. Tippoo hereupon fired a salute in token of rejoicing. He heard that thirteen of the English horse Artillery (41) guns with three light guns were left behind at Kanvadi by the English; and tumbrils of gunpowder were blown up; that the cannon balls, lead for bullets and other stores were buried by the English who had retreated by the mountain path. That the troops of the Nizam, with the English were looking out for the aid of the (Mahratta) Peishwa: and that in the evening the English and the Nizam reached Errodu;

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where the Mahratta commanded by Parasa Rao Bhao joined the English.

23. These particulars were brought to the Sultan on Monday the 27th. Tippoo now sent a present of fruit &c. accompanied by his (chobdar) herald Abdul Zadir to Lord Cornwallis the commander of the English Troops encamped at Errodu (French rocks), and also sent a camel man whose camel had died (the English) gave this man another camel, and sent him back(42). The fruits and other things were delivered to Lord Cornowallis and the bearers returned to their master. Then the three allies marched thence by the Bangalore road.

24. On (43) year Virodhicrit (1791) Sravana Suddha, 5, he (Tippoo) set out from (Seringapatam) and encamped at Settihalli: on the 8th Sunday, he ordered a hunting party: and made Sango Pandit (who was sent by the Mahrattas) mount an elephant and accompanied him to the plain of Nilmany(44) where he hunted a tiger and then returned.

25. On Saturday the 10th the Sultain came home to Seringapatam and entered the Niz-i-bahar bagh. On the 15th Tippoo summoned prince Fatih Hyder who had been sent from Teruker with a small party to attack Balwari Rao 'Teke Walla' then encamped at Madikeri; the prince therefore rejoined Tippoo with his detachment; (and reported that) he had defeated Balwant Rao: two hundred of whose cavalry he brought as prisoners: though Balwant Rao himself escaped.

26. This Fattah Hyder (45, (Tippoos' eldest son) next marched to Gurram conda with some troops: he besieged that fort and seized Hafiz Badruddin Khan the Mogul (this name is not clearly written) whom he slew. He then defeated the troops of the Rajah of Cabandar; he seized all the elephants and horses: he placed all their arms and stores in

Gurram conda and then returned to the Sultans army.

27. On the date Aswiya Bahula Pratipad the Sultan marched from Seringapatam and halted near Kergur. He sent a detachment under Mohammad Raza to Chennagiri (48) and to oppose Farasaram Bhao.

28. In Coimbatore there was a battalion commanded by Chalmers (49). Tippoo sent Mir Kamr ud Din Khan with his troops to seize the place. In obedience to this command he beset the place, took this captain and his wife and children captive, and brought them to Seringapatam where they were put in prison, all his property being delivered to the Government. Tippoo had sent Mir Kamr ud Din Khan with a force to Nagar (Bednore). He now recalled this force, and placed it at Nastr Bahar name of the Seringapatam fort.

29. Lord Cornwallis and the Moguls had marched from Bangalore and were encamped, near (Seringapatam): the Sultan with his army having halted near Kirguli where they placed batteries.

30. At this time (year Virodhicrut A.D.1791 in Magha Suddha paurnomi Tuesday) the English who were on the hill of Errodu (French rocks) made a night assault on the Sultan's army: and all the Sultan's army fled. On this day the (Asdulai Ahmedi) "Converts" seized at Coorg and other places, with the (Neze Cardar) lancers, ten thousand in number fled:(50) and escaped with their weapons to Coorg.

31. The Sultan had come to the Mysore gate (of Seringapatam) and called his troops together. The English took the (thana) station of (51) (Shahr) Ganjam where Tippoo had placed in irons, (52) the various soldiers whom he had taken prisoners at Periapatam: all of there were now released and they joined the English force.

32. On the eleventh of that month, in the morning Tippoo was in the mosque which is at the Mysore gate of (Seringapatam). A detachment of the English came from Mysore. (See Wilks 2,241. date 22 Feby 1792). They crossed the river at Ketanahalli and came to the plain near Palahalli. Sayad Ghafiar's battalion and Mir Kamr ud Din's troops fought (against the English) until evening when each army kept its ground.

33. Mir Kamr ud Din Khan had formerly taken prisoner a certain English Officer named Chalmers (Wilks III 234 in the manuscript it is written Saumbar) and kept him in Seringapatam he was now released with his wife and children: presented with a Khilut and was sent to Lord Cornwallis. He promised Tippoo to use his influence and endeavours to effect a peace: and recommended that three letters should be written and enclosed in bags of tissue; one addressed to Lord Cornwallis, one to Khusher ul Mulk (Minister to the Nizam) who is also called Salbat Jang, brother to the Nizam: and the third to Hari Pant Pharkia (minister to the Peshwa): that these should be sent by the hands of Chicca Sheshava and Mohammad Ali the macebearer: he stated that His Lordship doubtless - would accept the letter addressed to himself: and sent the other two to their directions. Tippoo adopted this measure. His Lordship took the letter addressed to himself and sent the other two in conformity to their Superscriptions.

34. After awhile the Sultan sent Ghulam Ali Khan and Subrao and Nayac Saugana and Malval Sri Linges Rao and the head mace-bearer Mohammad Ali and others, along with Ali Raza, to conclude the peace. It was agreed that (three crores and three lacks) (300,300,000) of Rupees should be paid (by the Sultan) to the conquerors: and that half the Kingdom should be surrendered. Out of this some one crore must be

be paid immediately*. And two of (Tippoo's) sons must be given in pledge until the residue of the money should be paid. These sons were Khalio Saheb and Loiz ud Din Saheb: along with whom went persons named Ghulam Ali Khan and Ali Raza and Nayac Singaya: who went as their suit.

In the year Paridhavi, month Chattra, Suddha 5 (8th March 1792) Lord (Corn) wallis received these noble hostages: then he set out with them and proceeded by the road that goes through Madduri Chennapatam,

35. [While at Seringapatam Tippoo increased the Government duty at the rate of six fanams in the pagoda (53 see Wilks III. 255). The Zanthiraj gold pagoda contains ten silver fanams. Thus Tippoo exacted six tenths of each man's wealth) in addition to the original revenue.

He also received from all his servants whether Hindu or Mussulman proportionable gifts, through his ministers Mir Mohammad Sadiq and Purnaya.*

36. In the year Pramadicha (1793) Tippoo proposed to build a fort of which he laid the foundations. (He repaired the fort of Seringapatam, Wilks III 282-3.) (The Lahratia historian has hitherto given his dates according to the Hindu Almanac: he now begins to use the Mussulman method wherein the date is reckoned from 1st to 28th.)

In the year Pramadicha on the 28th day of Phalguna, he marched to Devanahalli where he halted (Wilks III. 288) His sons who had been sent to Madras as hostages were restored to him by Captain Doveton: who also brought Ghulam Ali Khan, Ali Raza and Singaya. He was introduced to the Sultan, who in year Ananda (A.D. 1794) gave him a Killat and jewels and dismissed him (Inter Stewart, 79 note.)

(From this place the historian writes only brief **memoranda**. The affair here alluded to is described in Buch. Hamilton Vol. I, p.330. 331 "On the arrival of Lord Cornwallis the Raja of Balapoor was reinstated &c.)

37. The Sultan then marched to Balapoor and to Nandigada where he kicked the (image of the)goddess (named Prasanna Parvati) and broke her statue. He ordered the Killadar (Commandant) to lodge himself in the pagoda.

38. He then proceeded through Penagonda, to the fort of Pagoda and then marched back. On this occasion he changed the names of every fort whether on hill or plain. On passing Madgiri in coming through the part the Sultan had a fall and hurt his leg.

39. Sayed Mohammad Khan who was commandant of the fort of Seringapatam was falsely accused to the Sultan that this man with the atheists * had leagued to seize possession (of Seringapatam) see Wilks III 290-291). Hereupon the Sultan set out, he took Mahtab Khan and the son of Mir Khair Ullah these two he put in guard: and deprived all other (accused persons) of their horses and drove them out of his realm, then he returned to Seringapatam, on Ananda Vaisakha bahula vidiya (1794).

40. The Sultan at present had ten thousand horse, five thousand foot and twenty guns.

41. Then Tippoo took away the title Mir Mira which he had bestowed on Syed Mohammad Khan the Atheist (dairch wala) who was ~~commandant~~ of Seringapatam imprisoning him and all other atheists whether they were in the service or not he turned them all out of his country.

42. Ghulam Khan had come from Curnool as an ambassador:

though he also belonged to the (Daira) Atheists. He was kept four months in Tippoo's presence and then dismissed, his salary being paid up. Tippoo took Mahtab Khan and others sent them away with passports.*

In the year A'nanda (A.D.1794) Magha Suddha full moon, the Sultan celebrated the marriage of his son Faith Hyder..

43. The Srimant (that is, the Peshwa) sent from Poonah a Khillat (55) and jewels by the hand of Raghunath Rao chief of the chamberlains: and, on his taking leave, a Khillat* and jewels were presented to him. Along with him Tippoo sent Chicca sheshaya and Nayac Ahmad Khan: sending four elephants and various jewels and a Khillat to be presented to his Highness the Srimant (Peishwa) and Wana Farnavis (his premier) and others.

44. In the year (Ananda(A.D.1794) month Sravana these occurrences happened. In Bishno Pandits troop there originally was a trooper named Dhonji Mahag (See Wilks III.293) He quitted that troops, and collecting freebooters, he did great mischief in Dharwar and other parts of the Mahratta country. He collected much plunder; he advanced money to his troops; and mustered nearly a thousand horse; and some foot. The Mahrattas sent a force to quell him: but he sent a messenger to the Sultan to say "I am your old servant: I pray you to support me." The Sultan granted him a safe conduct, and he arrived at the sultan's presence with five hundred horse. The Sultan supplied him with tents and other requisites and made him halt his troops beyond the river. The sultan ^{also} ~~also~~ gave him a dinner and inviting him alone into the fort gave him assurances of friendship.

45. The Sultan in his heart intended to make him a Mussulman: but the man refused (to be circumcised) wherefore

the Sultan, in defiance of right, caught and imprisoned him, and made him a mussulman (that is, circumcised him) and placed him in prison: granting him a stipend of one pagoda a day, with clothing: giving him the name Shekh Mohammad and ordering him to be taught to read the Koran by a tutor.

Tippoo seized and plundered all Dhonjis followers and cut off the nose and ears of the (diwan) head man in Dhonji's employ: which caused the man's death (Wilks, 3, 295). Until (Tippoo's) death Dhonji was kept prisoner and then escaped.=

46. In the year Ananda (A.D.1794) on the 24th of the Phalgun Tippoo celebrated the wedding of his son Khaliq Saheb.

In the year Raxasa (A.D.1795) he celebrated the marriages of the princes his sons Sultan Lohi ud Din, and Moiz ud Din (Wilks III, 301, 302).

Chicco Sheshaya and Ahmad Khan who had been sent to Poonah returned (to Seringapatam. [1]).

In the year Nala (A.D.1796) Tippoo took to wife the daughter of Sayad Saheb. On this occasion presents were bestowed on all his servants. (Wilks III. 302).

47. The Sultan then set out on a tiger hunt. He went to Tippur.

At this time (Mussa Raimun Francois) Monsiur Raymond (2) the Frenchman, and Monsiur Paicar and a young Englishman arrived at Mangalore. Through the Asif (a word substituted) by Tippoo for Amil, local officer) they offered a ship to the Sultan which he purchased. (Wilks, 3, 333, but he does not mention these names.)

When these two officers were to be introduced to Tippoo, he sent three French Officers (who had been in his service

service under Monsieur Lally,) to escort them (respectfully) and lodge them in Lally's garden(3). One of these was sent to Europe at the bearer of a letter. the other was kept awhile in the garden of Tippoo's palace. He sent this man with Mir Yusaf Ali, the head courier, and two other respectable men, to Mangalore. Of these Mir Yusaf Ali returned and the rest went to France.

48. In the year Pingala(A.D.1797) on the date Vaisakha Suddha, 6, prince Lohamrad Ali Khan son (lenk) of the king of Persia had an interview with Tippoo Sultan. He was entertained for seven months as a guest, and resided at (Chinn) Ganjam.) He was granted two thousand (pagodas?) to meet his travelling expenses and he embarked at Mangalore and went home.

49. In this year on the 27th of Magha the Sultan set out taking with him four battalions (kushoons) and four - pieces of Artillery. He marched through the villages of Kauhandi, Belagodu, Great Madanhalli, Sosula, and Talacadu &c. He surveyed the canals and ordered the requisite repairs.

At this time some caravans of fresh horses arrived from Mangalore: the Sultan viewed them and sent them to Seringapatam.

50. The Sultan then sent his tents and four troops of cavalry to Ronoor: he came to that place (Wilks III, 306-307 and Bu Hamilt, II. 83) and ordered the artificial lake to be destroyed. He returned home again in a week. Then in like manner he destroyed the lake at Errode (since called French Rocks) and returned home.

51. Next year, Kalayucti (1798) in the month Jyeshth the Sultan marched to Nelmanch and assembled all his army

sending for all the (asifs) deputies and clerks. He raised the rents on the farmers and sent the Collectors and Managers to their departments.

52. In the year Calayucti (1798) adhica Sravana a Frenchman named Monsieur Chapuis and others arrived at (Mangalore with ninety seven soldats) Tippoo sent Hash Ali Khan and Mirza Bagir Bregh and other gentlemen to escort them: with cavalry commanded by Nayac Narayanappa. On the arrival of these Frenchmen at Seringapatam Tippoo employed them.

53. Tippoo gave one year's pay to two of these officers and to two Soldiers: and also to a clockmaker named Dubois (Doobey) who settled at Seringapatam. He sent them with a message to the French Governor of Mauritius; accompanied by Abdur Rahman, Hedayat ulla Khan (4) Abdül Qadir, Nayac Chicca Sheshaya (i.e. Captain Sheshaya junior) and two other gentlemen of the Persian office. He entrusted them with a letter and jewels to be presented to the Governor. Sheshaya accompanied them as far as Mároor and then to Tanakbadi (Tranquebar).. The abovementioned two Soldiers were taken prisoners by the English near Trichinopoly.

54. The Sultan next marched from Melehmaneh (5) to the fort (of Seringapatam). In the month of Kartica Tippoo sent messengers named Fakr ud din and Mir Miran, who with Ahmad Khan of the Bank, chief of the Merchants, and Narayan aya junior, of Little Nayac halli, and Narayan aya the courier (of Sancaraiapatan) were sent by Tippoo to carry a present of money and jewels to Poonah.

55. After these things (General Harris Bahadur (6) came with his army marching up the mountain passes; Tippoo hearing of this, marched, on the 10th of Magha to Cuddur in the Bellur

Bellur district, where he halted. (Wilks 3, 385.).

He sent all his horse, foot and guns to Hulidurga (Tiger-fort) under the command of Mir Loyin ud Din and Purnaya and other nobles.

Then a report arrived that the English were marching into the Coorg territory.

56. In the year Siddharvi (A.D. 1799) in the month of Chaitra, on the third day after full moon (9) the English army came from Madras and slew Tippoo Sultan: they captured Seringapatam and enthroned Vishun Roy Wodeyar. The appointed Purnaya to be his Minister while Jaya Rama the (mutsaddi) clerk was made Governor of Seringapatam.

§ THE END. §

P O S T S C R I P T.

The Mahratta historian's plain unvarnished tale being concluded, I think some apology is required, regarding the rude abrupt style he uses. I could easily have smoothed his language, but an exact transcript is perhaps the most trustworthy.

A recent publication entitled "Our Eastern Empire; by Charles MacFarlane," (London 1848,) gives a clear and excellent sketch of the history of Hyder and Tippoo. Mr. Gleig's Life of Sir Thomas Munro, contains several animated and exact details of the same events.

I will conclude the memoirs with a document printed in the appendix (page CI,) to Colonel Beaton's history of the War with Tippoo Sultan, 4 to, London, 1800.

"Several particulars relating to the conduct of Tippoo Sultan on the 4th May, 1799; collected chiefly from the relation of the Killadar of Seringapatam, and from accounts given by his own servants, & c.

"When the Sultan left his palace he was dressed in a light coloured jacket, wide trousers of five flowered chintz, a sash of a dark red silk stuff, and a turban, with one or two ornaments; he had on his sword, in a rich belt slung on his right shoullder, and a small cartridge box, hung to an embroidered belt, thrown over his left shoulder; his tawuz,* or tellemman, was fastened under the jacket, on his right arm, a little below the shoulder. He went out early in the forenoon, as was his custom daily,

* See note on section 21 of Book Third.

to one of the cavaliers on the outer rampart of the north face, whence he could observe what was doing on both sides, and remained there till about noon; when he took his usual repast under a pandal*. It would appear he had then no suspicion of the intended attack for when reports were made to him, ~~from~~ the west face, that our parallels and approaches were unusually crowded with Europeans, and a number of Doolies behind, he expressed not the least apprehension, nor took any other precaution; but desiring the messenger to return with orders to Meer Goffar, with the troops on duty near the breach, to keep on their guard. A moment after, word was brought that Meer Goffar had fallen near the breach by a ~~common~~ shot. At this intelligence, the Sultan greatly agitated, ordered the troops that were near him under arms, and his servants to load the carbines, or short fuzées, which they carried for his own use. He then, after receiving another report, which was received privately, hastened along the rampart towards the breach followed by servants, slaves, and a select guard; under several chiefs, till he met the fugitives, and perceived that the head of the Europeans had already mounted and gained the rampart: he endeavoured to stop his flying troops, and joining many of these to his own guard, encouraged them by his voice and example to make a determined stand: he repeatedly fired on our troops himself; and one of his servants declares he saw him bring down several Europeans near the top of the breach. Notwithstanding these exertions, when the front of the European flank companies (of the left attack,) approached the spot where the Sultan stood he found himself almost alone, and was forced to retire to the traverses of the north rampart;

* A temporary building, booth, or shed: whether plain or adorned.

these he defended one after another with the bravest of his men and officers, and assisted by the fire of his people on the inner wall, two or three times brought the head of our flank companies, who were pushing on with their usual ardour, to a stand. The loss here would have been much greater on our part, had not the light infantry, and part of the battalion companies of the 12th regiment, crossing the inner ditch, and mounting the rampart, driven the enemy from thence, and taken in reverse those who, with the Sultan, were defending the traverse of the outer rampart. While any of his troops remained with him, the Sultan continued to dispute the ground, till he approached the passage across the ditch to the gate of the inner fort; here he complained of pain and weakness, in one of his legs, which had been badly wounded when he was very young, and, desiring his mare might be brought, he mounted, and seeing the Europeans still advancing on both ramparts, he made for the gate, followed by his palanquin, and a number of officers, troops, and servants. It was then probably either his intention to have entered and shut the gate, in order to attack the small body of our troops which had got into the inner fort, and, if successful in driving these out, to have attempted to maintain it against us, or to endeavour to make his way to the palace, and there make his last stand. But it was the will of Heaven to frustrate these attempts, (as it had done his ambitious plans,) and that he should never again enter his palace alive. As he was crossing to the gate by the communication from the outer rampart, he received a musket ball in his right side, nearly in a line with the breast; he, however, passed on until he was stopped about half through the arch of the gateway by the fire of the 12th Light Infantry from within, when he received a second ball in the right side, close to the other; the mare he rode being wounded at the same time, sunk under him, and

and his turban fell on the ground. Many of his people fell about the same time on every side of him, by musketry, from both sides of the gate. The fallen Sultan was immediately raised by some of his faithful adherents, and placed upon his Palankeen under the arch, and on one side of the gateway, where he lay or sat for some moments faint and exhausted until some European soldiers entered the gateway. A servant who has survived relates, that one of the soldiers seized the Sultan's sword-belt, and attempted to pull it off; that the Sultan, who still held his sword in his hand, made a cut at the soldier with all remaining strength, and wounded him about the knee; on which the soldier put his piece to his shoulder, and shot the Sultan through the temple, who instantly expired. Not less than three hundred men were killed, and numbers wounded, under the arch of this gateway, which soon became impassable except over the bodies of the dead and dying. About dusk, Major-General Baird, in consequence of information he had received at the palace, came with lights to this gate, accompanied by the lake killadar of the fort, and others, to search for the body of the Sultan; and after much labour it was found and brought from under a heap of others to the inside of the gate. The countenance was no way distorted, but had an expression of stern composure. The turban, jacket, sword, and belt, were gone; but the body was recognised by several of his people who were there, to be the Padshah, and an officer who was present, with the leave of Major-General Baird, took from off the right arm the tail-man, which contained, sewed up in pieces of fine flowers silk, an amulet of a brittle metallic substance, of the colour of silver, and some manuscripts in Kuf *Arabic, and Persian characters, the purport of which, had there been any doubt, would have fully ascertained the identity of the Sultan's body. It was placed on his own palankeen; and by General Bairds

orders conveyed to the court of the palace where it remained during the night; furnishing a remarkable instance, to those who are given to reflection, of the uncertainty of human affairs. He who had left the palace in the morning a powerful imperious Sultan, full of vast ambitious projects, was brought back a lump of clay, abandoned by the whole world, his kingdom over thrown, his capital taken, and his palace occupied by the very man, Major-General Baird, = who about fifteen years before, had been, with other victims of his cruelty and tyranny, released from near four year's of rigid confinement, in irons, in a prison scarce three hundred yards from the spot where the corps of the Sultan now lay.

Thus ended the line and the power of Tippoo Sultan. It will require an able pen to delineate a character apparently so inconsistent; but he who attempts it must not decide hastily. Those who have served in this campaign, victorious and brilliant as it has proved, will however, I believe, agree that the infantry of the Sultan were not inferior to our sepoys, and that, had he been joined three or four months ago by four or five thousand French troops, which he had every reason to expect, the event might have been very different. What infinite credit then due to the man who planned and saw the fit moment to execute measures which, perhaps, have saved us from ruin!"

* "In Logic" says Beatson: but this appears to be an error for Kufic.

= Major General Baird, when captain of the light infantry of the late 73rd Regiment, was severely wounded and taken prisoner on the 10th of September 1780. After being kept in Hyder's camp for five or six weeks, with Colonel Baillie and six other officers, he and three others were sent to Seringapatam and confined in a small Hindu house, subject to every insult the guard choose to offer. The number of prisoners gradually increased to forty-two, or three. The whole were kept in irons and allowed only one fanam (about two pence) each per day, to furnish every article of life. Major General Baird suffered this confinement untill the peace of Mangalore in March 1784; a period of three years and six months. (Beatson, -Ibid)

FOOT NOTES.

BOOK I.

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| 1 | 1 | (1) This occurrence is dated A. H. 1140 that is A.D. 1727. See Forbes's Oriental Memoirs 2. 463. |
| | | (2) Kolhar about 35 miles east of Bangalore . Buchanan's Mysore 1. 277. I usually cite this work as Fr. Bu. Ha. for the writer, Francis Buchanna, afterwards took the name Hamilton. |
| | | (3) The French anonymous biographer of Hyder (Delaour) asserts that Hyder was born in A.D. 1728 at Devanbelli but Kirmani says in A.H. 1134 which is A.D. 1721. Stewart in the memoir prefixed to his Account of Tippoo's Library says "A.H. 1131 which is A.D. 1718". Most probably Kirmani is correct. |
| 2 | 2 | (4) In MS 611 this name is written Shabas Khan and perhaps should be Shahbash Khan. |
| 2 | | (1) In 1746 the French fleet under La Bourdonnais (Gifford IV. 609) bombarded Madras, whence they dislodged the English who had a superior fleet under Commodore Peyton. In this year Dupleix became Governor of Pondicherry. |
| | | (2) This is the common name of our hero Hyder. It has been asserted (Thornton i. 524) that Hyder's youth gave little indication of future greatness and "for sometime his life was wholly devoted to "pleasure. The sports of the field occupied a large "portion of his time and the remainder was surrendered to voluptuous enjoyments" It is to be regretted that an Englishman should condescend to make such assertions: which are groundless. what little we know of Hyder's youth is altogether to his credit. As for a manly sketch of Hyder's Character see Rennell p. CI note and Bu Hamilt I. 300, 11,444. 548 and regarding his popularity among brahmins see the same work I. 47. |

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| 2 | 3 | (3) In Canarese and Telugu names, the family name comes first, and often is the name of a village: or has a signification; here Katti means "Sword". The personal name comes next: Gopal; the third word Raj or Razu literally 'King' is equivalent to Esquire: it is used by SUDRAS; Rao being peculiar to Bramins. |
| | | (4) In As Ann Reg. 1800 p.6, the family name is written Gorachuri. The memoir is by Colonel Mackenzie. The Kirmani writes it (page 30) Girachoori or Girajvari. But Persians are very inaccurate in writing Hindu names. A Kannadi (i.e. Canarese) MS spells it Kharachuri and GARACHOORI NANZA Raj. |
| | | (5) Naik, a title like squire, denotes a lord, a Captain but in modern days has become the name of a Serjeant,

Dalavayi, equivalent to Lord High Steward or Seneschal. See Ann Reg. 1783. 'Antiquities', page 102,105 |
| | | (6) An anonymous Persian chronicler asserts that on the 6th of Sefer in A.H. 1160 (A.D. 1747) Hyder attacked BANGALORE Ann, Reg. 1800 (Characters page 5) This error Stewart has copied. It is an error for BALPOOR; an error quite as gross as writing Kent for Ghent or York for Cork... No siege of Bangalore or of Balapore is mentioned in Kirmani nor in Punganari nor is any event given in this year. Buch: Hamilton I.330 says Chica (i.e. Lesser Balapoor which the maps miscall Balabaram. The Raja agreed to pay Hyder 100,000 pagodas (400,000 Rupees) but paid only 60,000. |
| | | (7) Carnataca peyada; Militia; usually Matchlockmen or spearmen as distinguished from regular troops. |
| 3 | 4 | (8) The birth of Tippoo Sultan is dated in this year by Kirmani and Stewart; A.D. 1749 A.H. 1163. Throughout this memoir the Mahratta historian cites the years solely by names, according to the Hindu system: no numerals are given. This method is explained in WARREN, and more clearly in a volume now in the press called "Chronology of Telegu and Canarose History". |

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- 4 (contd) (9) He lies like a Bulletin, says the French prover. Throughout the Marata and Persian records numbers of men, horses and money are stated with a precision and a profusion, worthy of Gulliver or Rabelais. On this subject see Wilks I.491. And No. 76 of 'The Connoisseur' among the 'British Essayists' Perhaps it may suffice if we believe one half or one quarter of the sums mentioned. In Jame's Naval history we have been taught how little reliance is to be placed on the arithmetic of Gazettes whether English, French or American.
- 5 (10) Gurram Conda, literally means in the Telugu language Horse-hill: it is a well known fort near Punganoor. This name is in various English books wrongly spelt Kurin Goonda, Korum Kunda. I visited this place in 1821. It is about half way between Cuddapah(Kirpah) and Punganoor.
6. (11) This was the second marriage, See Kirmani, page 26, His second wife, mother of Tippoo Sultan, was the daughter of Mir Moin ad Din late Commandant of Cuddapah: her brother was Mir Ali Raja (Stewart 5.) Afterwards he married the sister of Makhdum Saib daughter of the Kazy of Seringapatam; she was the first he was espoused to [Stewart 5.)
- (2) Always written Phulcheri. Compare Owen Cambridge, page 11 and Wilks I, 267)
- (3) This place is said to be also called Sravanur.
- [4] To this day 1847 the name of Himmat Khan is held in abhorrence for this treason. This name is in the Persian MSS. written Himmat Khan. Compare curious details of Nasir Jung's murder in Loc XV.p.181.

In the unprinted Persian Memoirs written by Mahmud son of

Nur Ullah Nazim this event is dated "on the night of Tuesday 14 Mohurruam A.H.'1164'. that is 4th Dec.1750 old style. Orme confirms this date: This Persian manuscript says, "Nasir Jung was sleeping in his tent: his "Piquets ran in: he rose and mounting "his elephant he went forth to visit "Himmat Bahadur who he was persuaded "would be his friend. But on saluting "him the reply of Himmat Bahadur was. "This is the punishment of thy treach- "ery. Nasir Jung drew his bow, but "Himmat Khan fired at him and shot him "through brest. An Affghan named "Salimi Sufed Dev who was seated at "the side of Nasir Jung cut off his "head and raised it on the point of a "a spear."

"Thus far the Persian Historian."

Suffed Dev the "white Demon" is the well known name of a demon mentioned in the Shah namah and here is probably a mere term of abhorrence being equivalent to Apollyon. In Tippoo's account of the affair(Asiatic Ann Reg.1799 p:211 of supplement) he names the Affghaun as Bahadur Khan and adds that he was soon after slain.

"This battle was fought at A'mur or 'A murgad' a "place which the French call Ambour.

A French Chronology printed by Mr. Sice at Pondicherry in 1842 says four hundred French troops and 200 Sepoys joined the force of Chanda Saheb "and of Muzaffar Jung: a decisive "battle took place at Ambour about "twenty leagues from Arcot. Anvar "ud Din and his son Mahfuz Khan con- "firmed the nomination of Chunda Saheb "to the Nabable of Arcot and then "marched to Pondicherry where he was "splendidly entertained by Mons. "Dupleix". Unluckily M.Sice is some- what of a fabulist.

(5) This Chunda Saheb is the person often denominated The French Nabob. Re- garding his death see Chap.11.

(6) Literally after he became a martyr:

(7) Literally "before the Raz aforesaid;" and we are left to guess whether the author means the Kartar (King) or Nanda Raz.

(8) In Asiatic Ann Reg.1800 "Characters" page 6, the name given is

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| 4 | 10 | (8) is "Dalwai Garachari Nanda Raz," which is thus written in Perisian, but in Mahratta or Canares it probably is D.N.R.G. Mill 30 writes G.N.R. and spells it Girajavari or Girachoori.". This Chanda Saheb is the person often called the French Nabob. |
| | | (9) "Settled" - bandobust kurna, to settle denotes, to master, conquer, seize. The phrase frequently occurs in this volume. Buiddobust Kurna, to regulate: or 'settle'a gentle phrase for plundering: the wealth being converted to the use of the state they were dealt with as was proper. Thus in Virginia and Kentucky those who take the law into their own hands call themselves Regulators according to Lynch law. The phrase bandobust kurna frequently occurs in the present volume. It is what Dr.Chalmers meant by 'dealing with' dissenters or opponents. Fraser's Magazine, Oct. 1847, p.384. |
| | | prior quoted by Johnson says:-
Her will alone could settle or
revoke
And law was fixed by what she
latest spoke. |
| 4 | 10 | (10) Wilks 1. 278 say 5000 horses and 10,000 foot. |
| | 11 | (1) The minister's name as given in a Persian Memoir (in as. Ann. Reg. 1800 p. is Gorachuri Nande Raz, Dalivai, who adopted Hyder - but more correctly in MS. No.611 it is written Karachuri Nanda Rajalia: he was the younger brother of Devaraz: and is there called "Nandi Raz of Bangalore " and he was Commandant of the troops, his daughter was married to Krishna Raj Vadayar. Hyder employed Khandeh Rao as his (Diwan) Minister. |
| | 11 | (2) Trichinopoly was formerly called Triserapuram. See Local. IX.83. The usual modern name is Sri-Rangam. |
| 5 | 12 | (3) "Nandaraz tasimma ho'oon" which is unintelligible seems intended for 'Sarasima ho-un' amazed confounded. This chronicler does not mention any English troops: they however were present, commanded by Clive. Wilks 1. 274. 5. While Orme knew as little of the presence of Hyder. |

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5	12	(4) At this memorable siege Hyder, Clive, Bussy, and Morari Rao (subsequently such eminent leaders of the Mussulmans, French English and Mahrattas) all met: while the respective histories each name only one Wilks, 1, 333 copies Orme I. 369 and says Hyder was present at the battle of Trichinopoly 17th Aug. 1754. No authority is mentioned. Neither Kirmani or Punganuri (our author) mentions it nor does Mackenzie. (A.A. 1800).
	13	(5) In the "account of British India" 3 vols. 12mo 1833 published in Edinburgh and written by captain Clarence Dalrymple and seven other gentlemen is a memoir to which I shall refer by the name "Dalrymple." In this place the total therein given is but 1500 which certainly is erroneous.
	14	(6) Disgrace, because the Moguls had enforced payment and departed. These incidents are more clearly told in Steward - year 1755.
	14	(7) Wilks 1. 349 states this more clearly. He says Nanjeraj halted 25 miles to the south of Seringapatam, to reduce his army in accordance with his reduced means, by discharging one third of his men: an operation which was performed with the utmost difficulty from the necessity of paying them the arrears.
	15	(8) Plundered: literally Sawari Shicari ridings and fowlings - that is predatory excursions.
		(9) Only five names are here given. See Wilks 1, 353. The record written in Telugu names these places Eddula-naik-palem, Ranna-vadil palem, Saminaik palem, Muni Virupaxa palem.
6	16	(10) These two brothers being the ministers or more truly the masters of the king of Mysore. Wilks. I 352, explains the origin of the quarrel. The two brothers plotted to get rid of the raja. But they could not agree on any plan.
	16	(11) Here this author styles his hero Hyder Nawab anticipating the power he gained in consequence of this quarrel. This return to Dingigul in 1757 is by the English described as a retreat: which seems true.
	16	(12) Wilks 1, 360, says Hyder sent this force to succour the Nayar raja (that is the ruler of Travancore) who was engaged in a war against the rajas of Cochin and Calicut.

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| 6 | 16 | (1) The Tribute. The word is Khandini. |
| | | [2] Note.- The table printed in Buchanan Hamilton's Mysore vol. 1, page 128, specifies the - coins in use at that and a later period: with the values in English money; as follows Gold coins. The hoon, honnu, varaha or Pagoda about eight shillings. The Kantaroy (properly Kanthirava, or "Lion") pagoda and is named after Kanthirava Narasa Rajavadayar of whom we have an inscription dated in SS.1627.A.D. 1705. In silver coins: the Rupee was rated at a little less than two shillings. (is ... 10 84 dec. or 0....1....1....05dec. |
| | 17 | (3) In this paragraph it is not easy to determine who is meant by each pronoun: It is supposed that for Raje waghair mecnas we should read ghair-che. The genitive sign being accidentally omitted. |
| 7 | 21 | (4) See Wilks I, 369. This paragraph is in some way incorrect but perhaps I have elicited the intent of the writer. The word Raz, Rauze, Raja is in these pages usually translated "Baron" but the old word king might be used unless likely to give a wrong idea. Adam Smith observes (Bk.III Chap.2 p. 11.) "In those disorderly times every great landlord was a sort of petty prince; his tenants were his subjects", &c. |
| | 19 | (5) Wilks I. 361 says - The resumed revenues were restored to Hyder, with Saocar securities for three lacks as a reimbursement for extraordinary expenses incurred in the expedition against the raja of Malabar. On these conditions Makdum Saib was recalled. |
| | 21 | (6) Literally, the dewan Vencatpati. |
| 8 | 24 | (1) |
| 9 | 25 | (2) The author does not say whether this sum was to be paid annually. Steward(1758) merely says it was the Chout or fourth part of the revenues. |
| | 26 | (3) Wilks I, 372 says, he freed the districts from the invaders on an understanding from all the parties concerned, that Hyder was to have the management of the districts thus liberated: and thus furnish funds for liquidating the balance. |
| | | (4) In 1758 Lally arrived in India. In As.Ann Reg.IV. 'Characters' p.27-33 (particularly the note in page 32) his character is given) |
| | 27 | (5) The memoir in vol.611 adds "they gave him the title Bahadur. In Kirmand the story is |

Page Para

9 5 (5)contd.

is told quite differently: affirming that the title was Nawab Hyder Ali Khan Bahadur, Chakmark Jung: and that it was bestowed not by a Hindu Raja but by Basalat Jang. This seems to be a fiction. For Chaqmaq Jang (the flint of war) is supposed by some Mussulmans to be rather a conversational phrase than a bestowed title: and we never find it used as a title by Hyder. The Telugu manuscript adds "And henceforth he was called Bahadur" which title the present historian Ram Chander Rao immediately uses for the first time. In A.A.R. 1800. (page 6 of characters) it is affirmed that after the conquest of Bednore Nagar, the title of Nawab Hyder Ali Khan Bahadur was bestowed on him by Nizam ud Dowla, the ruler of Hyderabad. This is utterly groundless. And titles bestowed by Hindus on a Musulman chief are by Musulmans considered a dishonour: accordingly the Musulmans historians translated by Steward and Mill are silent as to this transaction. After all I find that the story most generally current is the one given by Wilks I, note in page 372 See the story told by Punganuri Book II. Chap 4-5. It is stated that Baha-dur signifies Price-pearl: i.e. the pearl of the highest value. This seems to be a fictitious origin. Richardson explains it better as a title equivalent to Right Honourable. Thus far the author has spoken of Hyder as "The Naik" but henceforth his phrase is "the Bahadur" for which I usually substitute "Hyder".

- 10 29 (6) All this unnoticed in Steward and in Kirmani.
- 10 30 (1) The Baramahl is the country to the East and South of Mysore. See description in Moor's Campaign page 458.
- 30 (2) The "Rayels" were the old rulers of Velloor.
- 31 (3) "Aziz khan the one eyed" Kirmani page 67.
- " (4) This is an instance of the odd obscurity of the original record the words are "he slew him" meaning Magdum slew Aziz Khan whereas it might also mean Aziz beat the Nabob of Cuddapah.
- 11 31 (5) In the French volume I. 64 it is written Thiagar. The same book uses "Canero" for Khandeh Rao. Ayder for Hyder; Sanour for Savanur, Adonis for Adhonnee.

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| 12 | (35) ~~46~~ | (6) "Valasher" denotes the Karta. It is said that when Krishna Rao Wodiar was a child, the title Vale-sher was given him by Hyder. It denotes "the noble tiger". |
| | | (7) This name is mis-spelt Esaji Heenee in Miles page 81. In Kirmani, page 71 Col. Miles has written "the seven sunnuds" erroneously reading HAFT seven for MUFT free, gratis, as a boon. |
| | (37) | (8) Date 12th August 1760 Wilks I.416. |
| | | (9) Khandote a money bag. A word omitted in the Hindi and the Mah-ratta dictionaries. |
| | (39) | (10) Goter (Mahratta) a camp. A rare word. Kirmani page 94 says that 'the kartar delivered Khandeh Rao into the hands of Hyder who put him in a cage and sent him captive to Bangalore'. "This is an odd statement, devoid of reason or probability. The dates in Kirmani's volume are INCORRECTLY rendered in the A.D. by Colonel Miles. Thus A.H.1172 is stated to be A.D. 1758 but should be 1762. The siege of trichinopoly page 34 is marked A.H. 1160 answering to A.D. 1750 but correctly is 1753. |
| 13 | (39) | (1) Izn, Permission, dismissal. |
| | | (2) This tale is told in Kirmani page 76 and 80 but very differently. In page 80 he states that Tippoo was then seven years old. Compare the French memoir t.l.page 61 and Wilks I.419. |
| | | (3) This paragraph is so obscure for want of names (now duly inserted) that at first the meaning was far from easy to discover. |
| | (40) | (4) Like the forced loans exacted by Charles I. in ~~English~~ England. |
| | | (5) See a clearer statement in Wilks I. 422. |
| | (41) | (6) Meaning, the Kartar, or Raja: but the author scornfully styles him "Pattan Wala" i.e. the Town fellow or City-holder. WilksI.424. |

Page	Para	
14	42	(7) A gentle phrase for saying he ran away. This tale is told in Kirmani page 18.
		(8) Ancheti - should be Chinchee, that is, Ginjee, more correctly Zazi, see Kirmani page 66.
	43	(9) According to the English map this village is named NELLAMUNGLOM. A few lines after it is written Kelmangul.
		(10) Wilk Vol. I. p.424, calls him Fazl ullah Khan. He says, "the force he sent was scarcely more than 4000 men with five guns".
	44	(11) It is worth while to compare Kirmani's history, page 80-87, which is written in a bragging style resembling that of Bonaparte after the defeat he suffered.
		(12) See in Duffs Mahratta History.
		(13) Instead of 'Visagi' the original says Pandit MUZCUR, the aforesaid Pant.
15	46	(1) The details are given in Wilks 1. 428
	47	(2) In the next paragraph this town is named Mai-mal-vadi see Wilks 1, 429-430. He spells the name Kutte Malwaddy and places it 26 miles S.W.from Seringapatam.
		(3) This passage is obscurely worded.
	48	(4) Literally "Patan so fauj wale", the chiefs who were at Seringapatam.
16	48	(5) Literally ~~*Patan~~ Sara sima ho-con.
		(6) A brother of his, named Sri-Nivas Rao Barki was tutor to Tippoo. Wilks 2. 150 note.
	49	(7) Literally the abovesaid persons.
		(8) Wilks 1, 430 Says the horse escaped and the foot joined the army of the victor.
		(9) See Wilks 1. regarding the forgery of these letters.
	50	(10) Wilks, 1, 431. Says Between the South bridge and the Mysore gate.
	51	(1) The Musulmans vanquished the Mahrattas in the north and south of India at the same moment for the battle of Panniput (also called battle of Sirabdalli, see Kirmani, p.149) was fought on 6th January 1761 (Duff. 2. p.145) Panniput is a petty village on the west of the Jumna about 50 miles north of Delhi. The place is marked in few Maps. The English took Pondicherry on the 15th Jan. 1761 See the details given by Gifford's History of France, 4 to vol IV 672.

(XI)

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| 16 | 51 | (2) Wilks. 1. 431 |
| | 52 | (3) The Kartar - The original in these passages merely says The Raja; which leads to uncertainty: the present page is in the original very hard to understand: the words Kartar- Khandeh Rao, and Hyder used in this version make the sense intelligible: but in the Mahratta all these are often denoted by the pronoun he. |
| 17 | 52 | (4) It must be remembered that Khandeh Rao was Hyder's servant and was now aspiring to ruin Hyder. |
| | | (1) Kirmani p 62 mentions no sum of money. Wilks I, 433 says the arrangement proposed was that districts valued at three lacs(of pagodas?) should be assigned to the Kartar: that districts valued at one lac should be granted to Nanja Raj. That Hyder should be governor of the remainder of Mysore: and that Khande Rao should be delivered to him. Dalry: p.60 says "Three lacks. Macfarlane: p.111 says three lacks of rupees PER ANNUM. |
| | 54 | (2) This may account for Hyder's attacking Sierh on the pretext that he had a right to it. This paragraph is in the original expressed so briefly that the meaning is obscure. Reasoning shews that the sense is here correctly given. Compare p.77 of the French memoir which confirms my rendering. Also Wilks i., 437. |
| | | (3) This town, Madduri Chennapatam is about midway between Seringapatam and Bangalore. Madras (Fort St.George) is usually called Chennapatam or Mailapuri Chennapatam. For the sake of distinction I follow the example of Col.Wilks in writing the former name Cenapatam and the latter Madras. |
| 18 | 56 | (4) Wilks, i. 445 says "Nine lacks of rupees". |
| | | (5) Apparently the writer means that the Baa-poor man was named Swami: and perhaps Narayan Swami is his son. Wilks gives no names. |
| | 57 | (6) Observe the three conquests viz. 1. Sooba of Sierh: 2. Murari Rao's country; 3. The Mahratta Garrisons, in Gurram Conda, and elsewhere. |
| 19 | 59 | (7) Kirmani p.126 being against the widow's character in this affair, it is well to observe Punganur's entire silence on the subject. Wilks i. 447 says that Anquetil du Perron tells the story - which appears in delatour, page 88. Compare En.Hamilt. Mysore 3. 127 Asiatic Ann. |

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| 19 | 59 | (7)contd: Register 1800, p. 6. I find the same tale in a Canarese manuscript, vol. 754. In every narrative the story is very obscure. |
| | 61 | (1) Compare Kirmani 136 , 137. He talks of the inhabitants as if they had made resistance. |
| 20 | 63 | (2) Wilks I, 447 calls him Chenna Baavaya: perhaps Gaibu is from the Canarese KAIBIDU to desert "The Deserter." In p. 453 Wilks calls him (wrongly I believe) Ghyboo Raja or Raja of the Resurrection." A Kanadi m.s. confirms the story of Gaiboo being her lover. |
| | | (3) Kirmani 139 says the name of this new Commandant was Ujni Kolhar who received the name Raja Ram. |
| | | (4) Probably as rewards for their treachery. |
| | 64 | (5) Coining money in his own name was the great mark of sovereignty. Hereby Hyder declared himself king, though he never assumed any title higher than those of Bahadar and Khan. |
| 21 | 66 | (6) Hybut Jung was a second name of Faiz ulla Khan. See Wilks i. 439. There is no previous mention of these names. This whole paragraph is obscure. It is not mentioned in Kirmani, who is also silent regarding the treachery just now spoken of. |
| | | (7) In the Canarese MS.vol. 754 the name Siddeh is more correctly written Sedeh which is on the banks of the Toombuddra. |
| | 67 | (8) Abdul Hakim Khan is the correct name; as given in Kirmani; and in Wilks, i,459. Savanur is spelt Shanoor in Col. Miles. |
| | | (9) "Jang-sa-waqti tat na anitan." This is an instance of the style; which is mixed with persian. |
| | | (1) Wilks. i.460 says the ransom was paid in goods, not in money. |
| | (68) (2) | Compared Wilks. i.461. He says Madhava did not come in person but sent Gopal Rao. |
| | | (3) "Thirty thousand horse and about the same number of infantry" is the statement given in Duff's History of the Mahrattas, vol. 2. p. 178. I shall often make reference to this accurate historian. |
| | | (4) Probably meaning, south of Savanur. |
| | | (5) Piyada or <u>Karnataka bantrotu</u> denotes matchlock men; who are mere retainers of various petty chiefs; while <u>Ba'r</u> denotes troops in pay, and armed with flint musquets. |

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21	69	(6) Wilks i.p. 462 says that the Mahratta army amounted to 60,000 cavalry, and was to Hyder's army in the proportion of three to one.
22	71	(7) Wilks. i. 465 says Hyder lost 3000 horse and six thousand infantry. The Mahratta writer says "he lost", leaving us to guess which leader is meant by the word "he".
		(8) Slain literally 'Kamas-aleh' came into use; i.e. were used up; or slain. This passage is so loosely worded that it might easily be translated as if Hyder was the loser.
		(9) Compare Duff 2. 181 dated 1765 where he gives further details. Kirmani misrepresents or conceals the facts; except the terms of pacification which were too notorious to be hidden.
72		(10) Regarding this sum all the authorities agree. Duff. 2. 181.
73		(1) See paragraph 58. A palegar or poligar is a petty baron; like those of Bradwardine, Branksome, or monkbarns; who held a fort in his own right. Formerly Southern India was full of these chiefs; who were free to plunder or slay.
		(2) The brother of Hyder's wife.
23	73	(3) Thus the occurrences of 1764 and 1763 are transported this is not mentioned in the Wilks.
74		(4) Throughout this book we find names that may easily be mistaken for one another: the Raza Ali here mentioned (Wilks, i. 470), is different from the Ali Raza of the preceeding paragraph.
		(5) Wilks I. 456. Probably meaning Mangalore which is called "Kodyal Bandar". The original merely says "Bunder" i.e. the port. Wilks says "Canara".
75		(1) Wilks I 557
		(2) The small and great drum; see Kirmani; page 59 where the phrase is Tambur-marfa-zanan.
76		(3) Mohimm 'invaded' in Arabic means 'Exploit, enterprize; but in these memoirs is used for Assault, invasion. Neither sense is in Richardson's Lexicon.

(XIV)

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| 23 | 76 | (4) The Calcutta quarto Persian History page 142 says Ali Raja was a son of a rich Mapilla: he was beloved by a daughter of the Raja of Cannanore, who was a Nair by descent and her father bestowed her on him; notwithstanding the difference of creed: and the raja when dying left him the kingdom. |
| | | (5) "Tyacal Samsthan, Kota, Agai, Kodatanar. These villages do not appear in the maps. |
| 24 | 77 | (6) In the same year 1765, Nizam Ali invaded the Carnatic (Wilson's Mills India p.452) in 1766 (12th Nov) Nizam Ali Subadar of Hyderabad made a treaty with the English who assisted him with troops to resist Hyder. |
| | 78 | (7) Wilks, I. 473. This is the prince who is often styled the Samorin. |
| | | (8) Naimar, the plural of Nair. See Buch.Ham. Mysore 2,408. |
| | | (9) The conquest of Coorg. See Asiat. An. Reg. 1800 page. 'The siege lasted three months and eight days: the fort of Coorg surrendered on 14th Mohurrum A.H. 1179 (that is 23rd June 1765) "the rajah had previously fled into Malabar". In the same volume page 25, 28, and in volume I. Page 293, there is a sketch of the Coorg dynasty. |
| 25 | 80 | (10) French Memoir I. page 110,112. |
| | | (11) Wilks, I. 475 says the garrison was 300 regular infantry. |
| | 81 | (1) The name is not clearly legible. The French Memoir says Paniani. |
| | | (2) "Kochen palah: " Wilks, I. 475 says "Cochin and Palghaut". |
| | 82 | (3) In this year the French Memoir relates the following story. Hyder was informed that his old and faithful servant, Hajee Mohammad, aged sixty, had seized and carried off a dancing woman's daughter. Also that his chief usher named Hyder Shah, had refused to listen to the mother's ~~complaint~~ complaint and had failed to report. Hyder punishes this man with two hundred stripes and sends a messenger who beheads Haje Mohaammad. There seems to have been no enquiry into the truth of either story. |
| | | (4) The Mahratta historian uses rough words: "sending out troops to graze" is hard to translate with much dignity. But Wilks, I. 475 uses the same phrase. |

(XV)

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| 25 | 82 | (5) Hyder's garrisons. The original says "the Sircar thanas" and elsewhere 'the Sircar or Government is used to denote Hyder's army or servants. |
| | 83 | (6) 'He left all the camp followers behind him'. |
| 26 | 83 | (7) In Colonel Kirkpatrick's "Select Letters of Tippoo Sultan, Letter cccxlii dated 13th Aug. 1787 Tippoo says, in reference to this occurrence, "Ten years ago, from ten to fifteen thousand men were hung upon the trees (of the Soopa forest in Sondah) and since that time these trees have been waiting for more men. You are therefore to hang, upon trees, all such inhabitants of that district as have taken a lead in these rebellious proceedings". |
| | 84 | (8) See Wilks II. page 2, where details are added. The standard of the fish is among Musulmans the mark of princely rank. It is odd that this incident is not mentioned in Kirmani: he possibly omitted it as thinking it no honour: because not granted by the Emperor of Constantinople from whom Hyder obtained throne of Emeralds. |
| | | (9) Musa-ada favour, assistance: here it is applied to money advanced. |
| 86 | (10) | All this is unmentioned by Kirmani and Wilks. |
| 87 | (11) | This passage is obscure from the loose mis-
use of pronouns: the sense probably
meant is that Hyder presented gifts to
the Raja. |
| | (12) | Here commences the second invasion by the
Mahrattas, as allies of the English. See
Wilks, 2, page 17. |

END OF BOOK NO. I.

FOOT NOTES.

BOOK II.

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| 27 | 1 | (1) Wilks say that this man was Hyder's brother-in-law. See note on Section 73. Or is that another man? Here enter the details given in Wilks; 2.10. |
| | | (2) Wilks, II page 7, 8 and Duff, 2, 18) where are details of Hyder's retreat and ruin which as usual are here left unmentioned. |
| | | (3) This is confirmed by Kirmani page 151. |
| | | (4) Kirmani says Hyder retired to Seringapatam. |
| | | (5) To hem him in. Query does this mean M. A.R. Khan, or the Peshwa? |
| | | (6) Mir Saheb is the phrase for Mir Ali Raza Khan. See proofs in Wilks, 2.10. |
| 28 | | (7) Wilks, 2 p. 11 14, gives long details which are here suppressed. He says THIRTY-FIVE lacks were stipulated for: and of this sum half was paid in March 1767. The Paishwa did not depart before receiving the whole sum. Duff, 2.182 says a Mahratta MS. says "Fifteen lacks of tribute and the expences of the war". |
| | | (8) At this place Stewart under the date 1767 by error places the events belonging to the next year representing the Nizam and the English as allies of Madhva Rao? |
| | | (9) The numerals vary in all the authorities Duff, 2.193 says Madhoo Rao levied thirty lacks from Hyder and collected nearly seventeen more from different parts of the Carnatic. The Calcutta Persian volume says (page 188) seven lacks of Rupees in money and various gifts. Kirmani is silent. |
| | | (10) Wilks, 2 p. 14 Duff, 2 183 date 1766. The Nizam, the Mahrattas and the English now attack Hyder. |
| | | (1) Wilks, 2. 18. The invasion was frustrated by the bribes which Hyder paid to the Mahrattas. MacFarlane p.112. |
| 2 | (2) | This story is told in Wilks ii.19,45. The first man, Khaki Shah, was Hyder's relation and confidential friend: and was soon after slain at his side. |
| 3 | (3) | This passage is obscure, but this is probably the import. The story is not in Wilks. Literally "Lashkar" army. |

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| 29 | 3 | (4) The hoon is the pagoda, a gold coin worth about three Rupees and a half. |
| | 4 | (5) This Rukn ud Doula is celebrated for cruelty. When Nizam Ali's wives fell into his hands he oppressed them to such a degree that when they entreated the indulgence of having their clothes washed to free them from vermin he thought this too great a favor to grant. |
| | | (6) See Wilks 241 |
| | | (7) Certainly Wrong. This title was bestowed not on Tippoo, but on his father. |
| | | (8) The import of this is not clear. Whils i. 373 shews that the father's name was Fatih Hyder. |
| 6 | | (9) The English were commanded by Colonel Smith. Hyder attacked them at Errode near Tirunamali on 23rd September 1767. |
| 30 | 7 | (10) Parao must be rendred seizure, capturing. It seems (Wilks: and Macf: 112, 113) that the Nizam and the Mahrattas were on this occasion leagued with Hyder and the French, while the English were aided by the Nabob of the Carnatic Mohammed Ali Khan. Regarding the French see Delatour, i, p. 132. |
| | | (11) "Changama" Wilks 2. 27. Kirmani page 249. |
| | | (12) Date 17th September 1769. Wilks 2. 29 and 35 Wilks says Hyder lost 2000 men killed and the English only 470 either killed or wounded: (Ann. Regr. Dodsley 1768. p. 101) French Memoir 2, 88-90. |
| | (9) | (1) Ten Thousand. But wilks says only 5000. The Calcutta Persian volume, page 280 gives no numerals. |
| | | (2) The present memoir is more intelligible in the English version because the more usual names of places are used: while in the original the reader is sometimes left to guess which is meant of two places bearing the same name. For instance: - |
| | | Chennapatnam a village near Seringapatam. |
| | | Do Madras. |
| | | Srirangam Seringapatam. |
| | | Do Trichinopoly |
| | | Patnam "the Capital" Seringapatam. |
| | | Do Madras. |
| | | (3) Wilks 2. 43. In p. 40 he says the English lost only 150 killed and 150 wounded. The loss of the enemy was probably 4000 with 64 sixty-four guns, chiefly 10 and 16 pounders. |

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| 31 | 10 | (4) Such is the phrase: but probably it should be, Hyder took leave of his lord the Nizam. |
| | 11 | (5) Wilks, 2, 44. This village is called AMBOUR in the French account. |
| | 13 | (6) He deposited his plunder in the fort. |
| | | (7) Wilks, 2. 45. |
| | 14 | (8) This passage is obscurely worded - see Wilks 2.53 |
| | | (9) His diwan was Rukn ud-Dowla: who also deserted to the English, See Kirmani 263. |
| 32 | | (10) See a clear account in Wilks 2, 52-53. |
| | 15 | (11) Caveri-puram, due west of Pondicherry; and on the banks of the Caveri. There are two rivers of this name. Seringapatam is on the northern Caveri: and the southern Caveri passes Trichinopoly: which is also called Seringam, i.e. Sri Rangam. |
| | | (12) 'Wood.' In Mills 161 and 267 this is written Hewitt. He here mentions "Saul-trees" but the word is Sala, avenues. |
| | | (23) Wilks 2. 66. |
| | 16 | (1) It is scarcely worth while to mention the English meanings of proper names. Huli Durgam means Tiger Hill: Tangidi-cota is named from a kind of tree. These are words of Canarese origin. Others are derived from Sanscrit, as Dharmajura that is Holyhead, or Alms-town. Seringapatam, Sriranga-patnam, the town of the Great Vishnu. |
| | 17 | (2) Wilks 2, 65, 66 gives a clearer detail. |
| | 18 | (3) Dono tarf Shah padle varoon: a phrase used in chess. Polybins uses a similar phrase. See Hampton's Translation p. 70. |
| 33 | 19 | (4) "Recruits" mulki rouj. Lit. the country forces. |
| | | (5) Mangalore - the word used is Kaudyal. This is the battle fought by Hyder against the English force sent from Bombay. See para 16. He repelled them and recovered all the places they had occupied. Dalrymple 2, 68. |
| | | (6) It is not clear in the original, whether he made captives of the inhabitants or of the English garrison: by referring to the life of Sri D. Baird it seems that these captives were some English officers and soldiers. |
| | 20 | (7) Lit. He came (who came?) with Murari Rao from thence (from whence) the whole passage is hard to understand being loosely worded. |
| | | (8) Date 4th August 1768. Wilks 2, 73. |

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33	21	(9) Hyder's name is as usual omitted but is everywhere supplied in the translation for the sake of clearness.
34	22	(10) Calcutta Persian Memoir.p. 268.Wilks 2. 77.mentions that Morari Rao was wounded. Wilk's account being written by the victors is clear enough. Punganuri's account is as usual obscure whenever Hyder meets with bad luck.
		(11) aloor. Wilks 2.78.89 where a very different account is given. He states Hyders loss to have been 3000 men.
	24	(1) "Nawab Mohammad Ali" Wilks 2. 71-93. Being at a loss: in the original Sarasima ghewun. See Wilks 2.90.
	25	(2) Talaghat utrun.
35	26	(3) Kirmani 280. But the accounts are not easily reconciled. Wilks, 2.80,81. This story can only be understood by reading Wilks, 2.80. This "Meer Saheb" was Hyder's wife's brother; and was treacherous to Hyder.
		(4) What the fault was is not stated, it means his desertion. See Wilks, 13.
	27	(5) The nominative case being omitted this sentence is obscure.
		(6) Wilks, 2. 104 108 109. "The detachment was commanded by Captain Nixon and was composed of 50 Europeans and 200 sepoys with 2 three pounders.
		(7) The name is written 'Karroor' in Wilks, 2 108 note.
	28	(8) Sri Rangam is the common name of the town we call Trichinopoly. The two towns are almost contiguous.
36	29	(9) Lit: he had a talk with 'Gordora Governor'
		(10) This passage is obscure: the occurrences are not mentioned in Wilks: nor in the Persian Historians..
	30	(11) Wilks, 2. 115 119. Burke's Ann Reg. 1769, page 48. The treaty was dated 3rd April 1769.
		(12) The French history 2. 171 says Dupre and Boscheir. Wilks, 2. 126 names only Dupre.
		(13) The Burhani Qatiy says that the word 'Navayat' is corrupted from NAYAR, See French memoir 1. 49 Wilks, 2. 125.

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36	32	(1) Wilks is silent regarding these occurrences.
37	33	(2) Kirmani p.297 says Adhoni was commanded by Bassalut Jung. See Wilks 2, 131.
	34	(3) The original says, Virodhicrit, which would be A.D.1791 and must be clerical error for Virodhi 1769.
	34	(4) Mir Sahib was Hyder's brother-in-law. See Kirmani 280, Wilks 2. 132.
	35	(5) See Duff 2,211. Wilks 2, 136 A.D.1770 but Kirmani omits all these events and (page 299) represents the Mahratta chief as retreating at once to Mirich.
38	36	(6) Wilks, 2, 136 says he was taken prisoner but was released.
		(7) Literally was punished (tanbih). It appears that the peshwa had marched down exact money from Hyder: who was relieved from the application by the peshwa changing his mind in consequence of illness.
	37	(8) "Three months" Wilks, 2, 138.
		(9) This is the name which more usually is written Trimbuck.
	38	(10) All this passage is loosely worded - we can scarcely divine the sense.
	39	(11) All these numbers agree with those stated by Wilks, 2. 136.
		(12) Virodhi which is here again wrongly written (as above)
		(13) Wilks 2, 138 give a very different account.
39	39	(1) The Calcutta Persian volume calls the village not Tonnur but Garicora which probably is a place in the same neighbourhood.
	40	(2) Wilks, 141 spells it Chercoolee: 'hills to the south of the lake of Tonoor.' Hyder always remembered this with grief. See Kirmani pages 194, and 479, 480 and Rennell, p. XCIX and Soletti Krishnaya page - Anno 1770.
		(3) The phrase is parooo gheoon which which must mean that they were made prisoners. Compare section 45. Bar-chi would mean of the Infantry but more probably it should be Barki Narayan Rao who was a well known personage.

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| 39 | 40 | (4) "Kamas ale Literally were <u>used up</u> : an expression equivalent to the Chinese phrase "100 warriors were spoilt". |
| | 42 | (5) The village which is now called French Rocks. See Wilks, 2. 148. |
| | | (6) <u>Pasdkarna</u> ; literally, to bleed. At this place the Calcutta Persian Memoir page 242, gives a story which does not appear elsewhere; that 'Triambac Mama accompanied by some of his troops came to bathe in the river on a religious occasion, but Hyder laid an ambuscade for him and gave him a severe blow, Triambac Mama sustained a heavy loss. |
| 40 | 43 | (7) Wilks 2. 150 Says Tippoo's detachment was 3000 irregular horse and 5 battalions of Infantry- They captured a convoy of one hundred thousand oxen laden with grain. This must be vast exaggeration. |
| | 44 | (8) Compare Kirmani p. 228-229. He says only two lacks but Wilks 2, 151 says says thirty lacks still larger sum. Duff 2, 217 gives a different account he says Hyder agreed to pay 36 lacks of rupees as arrears, and 14 lacks as annual tribute. The Cale Persian volume page 261 reduces the sum to two lacks: and so says Kirmani p. 229 Some have severely criticised the deviations in numerals which commentators have exhibited, regarding the books of Kings and Chronicles. The present volume exhibits deviations quite as great, and still bears clear marks of varacity. |
| | 45 | (1) Annual Register 1782 page 9 says Hyder made his treaty in July 1772 without the intervention of friend or ally. The historical chapters in the Annual Register are written by Edmund Burke, but Colonel Colin Mackenzie was the author of the memoirs in the Asiatic Annual Register. |
| | 46 | (2) Literally, for a year past the Cogagwala and the pattern wala had had a grudge. This is a sample of the rude style of the original Mahratta. |
| | | (3) Wilks 2, 158. And Bartolomeo page 140 says-in 1773 Hyder attacked Calicut & c. The king named Samuri Krishno Tamburan fled with 5000 Nayres. The SAMURI is commonly written Samorin or Zamorin. |
| 41 | 47 | (4) This will be understood by referring to a future paragraph. |

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| 41 | 47 (5) Wilks 2, 150-158 |
| | (6) Here are a few unconnected words. The hand writing from this place to the close of Book II is that of another writer. |
| 48 | (7) Here the two names Vijaya and Jaya are the names of 1773 and 1774: this is the more ancient method: in the modern days the two names are transposed. The author follows the vulgar method. |
| | (8) In the original this sentence ends thus, "and having sent him....."error? |
| 49 | (9) All this affair is omitted in Kirmani and in Wilks. |
| | (10) The name Chennapatam - the context shews that Madras is intended. All the passages in this book regarding Madras and Pondicherry are imperfectly expressed, and it would seem the author describes the occurrences from mere hearsay. |
| 50 | (11) Visaji Pandit was the Mahratta representative. See Book I. chap. 35 & 44. |
| 32 | (12) The Supplement to Kirmani, p.505 observes that Hyder never suffered the funds of the Hindu pagodas to be diminished. See Wilks. 2, 159. |
| 52 | (13) Compare Canarese records vol. 747. p.38. |
| | (14) Certainly a mistake. See note chap.79. |
| | (1) Wilks vol. 2, p. 156, says Madhoo Rao died 18th Nov. 1772. His brother and successor Narain Rao was killed on the 30th Aug.1773 and was succeeded by his uncle Raghunath Rao, who was afterwards celebrated as Raghubad: well known in the English transactions at Bombay - See details of the murder of Narain Rao in Duff. 11.247. |
| 53 | (2) Literally Pantani aicoon. i.e. The Punt heard of this, sent &c. here we are to guess who the Punt is. It must be Visaji Punt. |
| | (3) The Calcutta Persian volume page 196 says that a quarrel arose among the twelve brethren regarding Raghunath Rao's beheading his brother-in-law being attacked by them Raghunath Rao fled to Mysore and demanded (Pesheush) tribute from Hyder: who on hearing of his weakened condition refused the payment, unless Raghunath would cede to him the Suba of Sira Badami and Jalimal and if these were given him he would give ten lacks of rupees. |

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		(3) Raghunat agreed: and sent Baji Rao to make over these lands to Hyder and receive the ten lacks. Ultimately Baji Rao instead of re- turning to his master, remained with Hyder. Compare wilks 2, 160 where this is omitted.
		(4) The Phrase Bara Bhai is explained in Duff.
43	54	(5) Wilks 2. 158 gives the horrible details.
	55	(6) Wilks 2. 164 says his name was Shah Noor Ullah.
		(7) Wilks 2. 164 This was an embassy to Karim Khan the ruler of Sheraz.
44	58	(8) This is mentioned in no other book.
		(9) (Parai Bandar wale) i.e. the people of Cutch.
	59	(10) Gutti waleh Murari Rao.
		(11) Wilks 2. 167 gives a long statement.
		(1) Capala Durgaum - the Bastille "a fort within sight of Cenapatam" (Ham. Bu.1.53)
	60	(2) Mirj wala: i.e. lord or baron of the village of Mirj.
		(3) Wilks 2. 178 says that Sevaram Bhao was nephew to Morari Rao.
45		(4) See Kermani page. 313.
	61	(5) "Ibrahim Khan Doonsa" M.H.Ali Khan page 312. Here follows in that book other details very lengthy: and seemingly unknown to 'Punganuri' Regarding Dhousa. See Grant Duff. 2. 324 Wilks 2. 179.
	62	(6) See M.H. Ali, page 332. Wilks 2. 181 But Mill. book 5 chap. 2, between dates 19th April and 11th June 1775 by an odd blunder talks of the "Army of the Mutseddies" (i.e. clerks, accountants) as being deserted by Scindeah. This is parallel to the "ferocious doolies" of a contemporary historian.
		(7) Literally 'The Lead Raidurg-wala'.
46	63	(8) Three months kermani and page 351 says three years. An evident error as the dates shew. This is one of the proofs that kermani was not present.
		(9) Literally. Two thousand Bederes were made Assadulahi. This was a phrase of Tippoo's coinage, denoting prisoners. It frequently occurs in the latter pages of this memoir and in the appended remarks.
	64	(10) This paragraph is obscure and may easily be misrepresented being very loosely worded in a conversational style. 'Phakadi' meaning the GALLANT OR WARLIKE is a little common to several Maharatta heroes:

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| 46 | 64 | while parkey (more strictly Phatke,) means entitled to wear a PATKA or gold band on the turban. See Miles p. 232. |
| | (11) | Regarding Manajee Phakray See Duff 2.287 is Phakre. The same as the Hindu Phokur "a fine sensible young fellow" (Shak). In one word a 'Blade' or hero while Phatkey means Tuftsman 'the crested hero' |
| | 65 (12) | This must be wrong. Raghunath Rao had fled (see paragraph 53) and his brother in law Baji Rao Barvey was left with Hyder. Accord- ingly we should read this "Baji Rao, brother in law to Raghunath, who was in Hyder's - employ" & c. |
| | (1) | All this page is obscure in the original from the lax and careless use of pronouns. The author seems to dislike stating the occurrences intelligibly. Instead of Manaji the author always says Phakade mazcoor the SAID HERO and he speaks of Hari Pant as the PANT MAZCOOR: and to increase the obscurity he describes places in a conversational style as being "On this side" or the "other side". |
| | 66 (2) | Shutr sawar "Dromedary courier" Wilks. |
| 47 | 69 (3) | The name Manaji' is expressed "Phakre". |
| | 70 (4) | This baron's name is omitted: but from other sources his name appears to be Barma Nayak, captain of Chitul Gurgam. |
| | (5) | This agrees with Wilk's account, vol.2 188 Date March 1779.. But Kirmani page 348, asserts that the fort was carried by assault. |
| | 71 (6) | Wilks 2, 188 says the spoil did not amount to more than five lacks of Rupees.- |
| | (7) | Shekh Ayaz: also called Hayat Saheb Wilks(2,188) says he was made commandant.. But Kirmani page 351, calls him Dowlat Khan. |
| | (8) | The Kartar of Mysore having formerly requested the Mahrattas to aid him against Hyder they are now to be punished for interfering. |
| | 72 (9) | In Wilks 2, 186, he names Gajendraghar, Badami, Jullihal, and other posts. |
| 48 | 73(10) | Here enter volume 742 a canarese M.S. |
| | 74(11) | Wilks 2, 193, mentions that Hyder had hitherto kept these Affghans prisoners but allowed them their swords. He says some of them were thus maimed, others put to death and some survived. |

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- 48 ~~74~~ (12) The phrase "hath paon" merely means "hand foot, or both hands and both feet which is the statement in Wilks 2, 194, the Persian volume.

*The whole story regarding Halim Khan's down-fall is omitted in the Mahratta and Persian manuscripts. I will here supply it from a Telugu volume in the same collection.

- 55 76 (1) Abdul Halem Khan the Pathan, Nabob of Cuddapah Wilks 2, 191, and 195.

~~(2)~~ *The reader may omit the above four lines, as they merely tell the story of Halim Khan again.

- (2) Wilks says Hyder took the Nabob's Sister as a 'Nikah wife' or concubine.

- (3) The embassy was to Delhi; the emperor of that day was named Shah Aulum. Perhaps the sense is "to Ali Gauhar who was minister to the Padshah"

- (4) Colonel Wilks 2, 573-579, gives anecdotes written by the venerable Swartz, regarding this period.

- 56 78 (5) See Kermani p. 368-371.

- 79 (6) Compare 2,352, The name Museh Lali means Monsi-
eur Lally. This is mentioned in Wilks 2,203
204, where see regarding this 2000 Rupees.

- (7) Balapoor seems to be written by error for Bellary
see chap. 52. In that fight the name Basalat
Jang may possibly be an error for some Mahratta
name.

- (8) "As a MUSAIDA" a subsidy.

- 80 (1) Wilks 2,208 gives an account which is different
but equally vague: the statement made by Kir-
mani 374 is mere vapouring.

- (2) Wilks 2,206 says Hyder owed 25 lacks of rupees
and paid eleven lacks.

- (3) 'He bestowed a Khillut on the Vakeel' is a coarse
rude phrase.

- 57 81 (4) Sillehdar-of these warriors Dugald Dalgetty is
a fair specimen.

- (5) The numerals are variously stated in various
historian, thus
Cavalry Siladar Infantry Carnatic

Pungnuri	14,000	12,000	20,000	12,000	2000	Total
Wilks.	14,000	12,000	15,000	12,000		83,000
				18,000		besides
				10,000		2,000
						rockets
Macferlan	28,000	15009	40,000			

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- 57 81 (6) Honnoor: Iam assured this is Havanoor, literally snake town. The place meant is Holleh Honnoor, which is in Mysore. But Havanoor is in the Poonah country.
- (7) "Chengama pass" says Wilks 2, 266.
- 82 (8) See Kermani 391-393, and Wilks 2, 266, 267 dated 21st August. The English marched from Madras to relieve Arcot: Colonel Baillie led the van the rear being commanded by Sir Hector Munro, they reached Congeveram (Kanchi) in great force.
- 83 (9) Fraser is the name (Wilks 522) but in the Maratta it seems to be Faizamnar. Wilks 2, 267 says that the force under Sir Hector Munro was 5209 strong and the force under Baillie was 2813. Also that Tippoo's force was 5000 foot, 6000 horse, 6 heavy and 12 light cannon with a large body of Irregulars.
- 58 84 (10) 'The petta' seems to denote Chingul peta. The battle is described in Wilks 2, 275 and Wilson's Mill IV. 212, 215.
- 86 (11) Sir David Baird's memoir, p.33, says that twenty three officers and some soldiers were sent to Bangalore as prisoners. In this passage of Punganuri it is written "Sireh hoon Sardar teeghe" three captains from Sierreh. This probably should be "Bareh Sardar" great captains.
- 87 (12) The Diwan of Walaja also called Achanna Pandit whom Hyder styled Raja Beerbur. (Wilks 2, 288) Kirmani 394.
- 88 (1) At this time there was a dreadful famine in Madras (See General Stuart's memoir page XXIV.) Suffrein's French squadron having blockaded Madras: date 1st Dec. 1782, on 15th Oct. 1782. There was an awful hurricane at Madras, see Annual Reg. 1783 p.81.
- (2) Here this historian ceases to record some unpleasant facts. Regarding the ten last years of Hyder's life, and the disastrous battles of Wandewash 17th Jan. 1781 see annual Reg. 1782. 81 and regarding Mooser Wacam 27th Aug. 1781 - Wilks 2, 325. see Local Record III, 442.
- 59 89 (3) ASAD-ULLAHI is a phrase which was introduced at this time and often occurs in subsequent pages.
- 91 (4) Kirman-i makes no mention of this. See Wilson's Mill year 1781. Wilks II, 318, 326, and Sir T. Munro's Letters. Date of the battle 27th July, 1781.
- (5) This name Velloor surely is a mistake for Goodloor i.e. Cuddalore.
*Probably meaning the plain named Toccal piram.
- 92 (6) Regarding there events ee the long details in the Persian memoir (lately printed at Calcutta) 'Karnama.e.Haidari page 373.

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| | 93 (7) See Kirmani p.425 Port Novo, is commonly called Farangi Peta. |
| 60 | 93 (8) Regarding Hyder final descent on Madras, see Dodsley Ann Reg. 1782 p.40 and ~~and~~ 60 date 10th Aug. 1780. In June 1780 Hyder set out from Seringapatam: see French Memoir 2, 37. 45, regarding the battle at Caveripattam or Vaniambady. |
| | 94 (9) See Wilks Vol. 2. p. 315. The following statements abridged from Dr.Hawel's History of the Church 1800; appendix to vol. 3 page 362 being particulars narrated by Captian James Wilson: who commanded a small ship. The vessel was so leaky that Wilson was obliged to run for Madras. Off Pulicat he discovered (Sufferin(s) French fleet going down the coast. Wilson arrived at Madras at the critical moment when the settlement was in the greatest distress. Sir Eyre Coote had marched to the South: and was so surrounded by Hyder Ali's army that no supplies could reach the English army by land. As the French squadron, anchored at Pondichery, had cut off all supplies by sea: the British troops were reduced to great difficulties and in danger of famine. Several country ships had been loaded with rice at Madras: but as the French fleet lay directly ~~with their eyes on Madras but the French fleet~~ in the way, they dared not attempt the passage to Cuddalore: near which Sir Eyre Coote was encamped. Mr. Smith the governor of Madras, engaged Wilson to carry down the ships with supplies for Coote, offering him four hundred pagodas for the service. Wilson sailed with four ships, and his object was to pass Pondichery unobserved. The French fleet that very evening weighed anchor. This was occasioned by a singular occurrence. Sufferin had sent his water-casks on shore to be filled, and they lay on the beach. Sir E.Coote sent a party who destroyed these casks. This induced Sufferin to run down to Point-De-Galle to repair the loss: just at the moment when Captian Wilson's ships were passing: and these ships brought in their cargo of grain unmolested. This supply rescued the English army, and under God was the means, as all acknowledged, of saving the Carnatic. Wilson subsequently fell into Suffreins's hands. Hyder bribed Suffrein with three lacks of rupees to surrender to him all the English prisoners. The narrative proceeds to describe at great length Wilson's escape, and re-capture: with the cruelties he suffered ~~in~~ prison at Seringapatam. |
| | *Mooserwank Wilks 2, 325. The cammon pronun-
ciation is Moswak. |
| | 95 (42) I find no mention of this in the English or persians historians. Tranquebar is often called Telingbari: the phrase here is Dingamar Takbadi waleh which appears to be meant for |

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60	95 (42 contd.) for Dannemare, (i.e. Danish) holdiers of Tranquebar. A little lower Suffrein's name is spelt Supreme.
